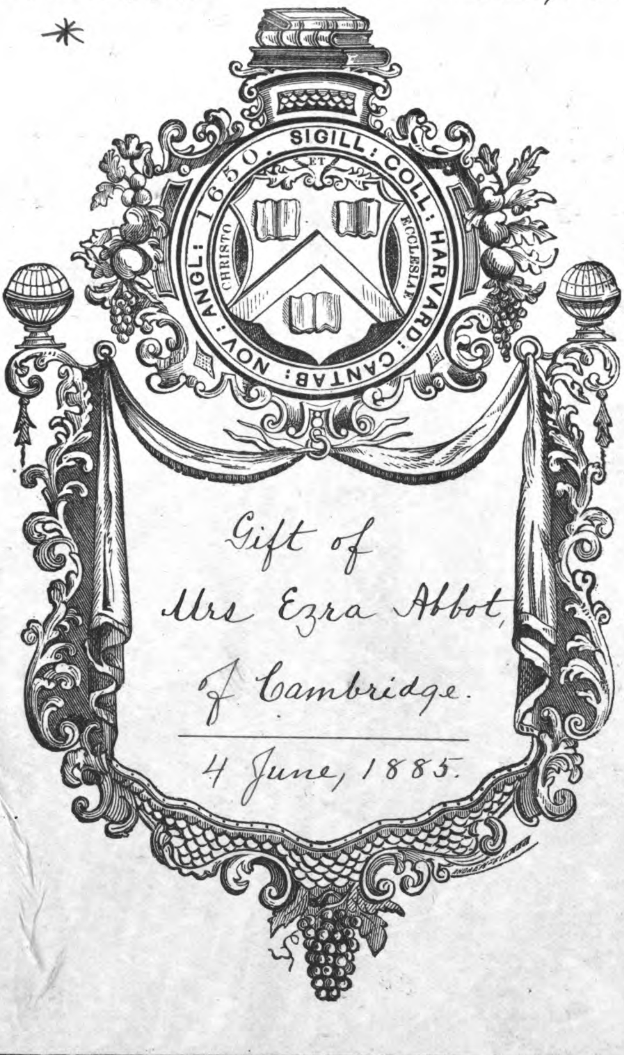

SIGILL: COLL: HARVARD: CANTAB: NOV: ANGL: 1650.
CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE

Inspiration of the Bible

Requirements for the Preparation of Negative Microfilm for Continuous Xerographic Enlargement

1. Format. Film in position 2A, that is, two pages per exposure with the lines of type running across the width of the film, unless the width across an opening measures more than approximately 13 or 14 inches. If the opening is larger than 13 or 14 inches, please film in position 2B, that is, two pages per exposure with the lines of type in the original running parallel to the long axis of the film.

2. Background Density. Density should be about .9 to 1.1 This is accomplished by decreasing voltage 3 to 5 volts from normal. (It is assumed that voltage is normally set to yield a density of 1.2 to 1.4).

3. Spacing. "Closing in the gate" so there is little waste space between frames is especially important. Since the images will be enlarged, the spaces will be too. Please leave an absolute minimum of space between frames.

4. Reduction Ratio. Use a reduction ratio of 13 if possible, if not, use one of the following: 7, 7-1/2, 8-1/2, 9, 9-1/2, 11, 12, 14 times. Include a scale at the beginning. If a catalog card is available, photograph it opposite the title page. Use 35mm negative microfilm. Reels or spools are not needed.

DE

INSPIRATIONE

SCRIPTURAE SACRAE

QUID STATUERINT

PATRES APOSTOLICI ET APOLOGETAE SECUNDI SAECULI.

COMMENTATIO DOGMATICO-HISTORICA

QUAM

SUMME VENERANDI THEOLOGORUM ORDINIS

AUCTORITATE

IN ACADEMIA LIPSIENSI

AD IMPETRANDAM VENIAM LEGENDI

ILLUSTRISSIMI ICTORUM ORDINIS CONCESSU

DIE XX M. FEBRUARII A. MDCCCLXXII HORA X

IN AUDITORIO JURIDICO

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JOANNES DELITZSCH

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PROSTAT APUD A. LORENTZ BIBLIOPOLAM

MDCCCLXXII.

Dogma de inspiratione Scripturae sacrae quum et per se spectatum et quatenus in usum vitae confertur maximi sit momenti, nostra aetate ab illustrissimis viris *Beckio, Rothio, Hofmanno, Kahnisio* luculente tractatum est, sed horum nullus historiam hujus dogmatis inde ab ecclesiae primordiis enarravit. Quod quidem opus antehac *Sonntagius*[1], *Rudelbachius*[2], *Tholuckius*[3] aggressi sunt; sed eos rei denuo tentandae officio posteros non solvisse nemo qui scripta ab iis legerit infitiabitur. Itaque de hac materia ab integro disputare et intra hujus libelli fines certe initia illius dogmatis describere constitui.

Priusquam autem ad patres ecclesiae accedimus, brevi exponemus quid Judaei tempore priscae ecclesiae atque etiam Dominus noster et apostoli de librorum Veteris Testamenti inspiratione statuerint.

I. Praefationem illam, quam Siracida libro sapientiae ab avo conscripto praemisit, ter legem et prophetas et auctorum prophetas insequentium libros, quos *τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βιβλία* vel *τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων* nominat, distinguere constat. Novit igitur Siracida canonem tripartitum atque nepos avum harum trium partium literarum patriarum studio se dedisse dicens testatur, anno fere ducentesimo a. Chr. n. ac proinde ante bella

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1 Doctrina inspirationis ejusque ratio, historia et usus popularis. Heidelbergae 1810.

2 *Die Lehre von der Inspiration der heiligen Schrift. Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche.* 1840. I, p. 14—59.

3 *Die Inspirationslehre. Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben.* 1850. et *s. v. Inspiration* in *Herzogii Real-Encyclopädie.* T. I, p. 692 sqq.

inter Seleucidas et Maccabaeos orta canonem corpus fuisse e תורה, נביאים, כתובים compositum.[1] Neque vero negamus canonem Veteris Testamenti sicut postea Novi diu *ἀντιλεγόμενα* quaedam continuisse. Quum enim, ne Scripturae sacrae profanarentur, constitueretur, inquinari iis manus, quaestio exstitit, utrum Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum manus inquinarent h. e. utrum hi libri in scriptorum sacrorum numero habendi essent.[2] Etiam utrum liber Ezechielis, cujus ultima capita multifariam a Thora discrepant, abscondendus (גנז) h. e. praelectioni publicae detrahendus esset necne, in Judaeorum scholis disputabatur. Siracidae quoque librum Scripturis sacris non esse annumerandum paulatim tantum convenit; codex enim talmudicus enuntiata illius libri quasi ex hagiographo quodam desumta allegat.[3] Has vero et alias quaestiones, velut quo tempore canon Veteris Testamenti clausus sit atque utrum Hellenistarum canon a canone Palaestinensium diversus fuerit[4], accuratius inquirendas disciplinae isagogicae commit-

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[1] Cfr. *Fuerstium*, *Der Kanon des alten Testamentes nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch.* 1867.

[2] Cfr. *Franciscum Delitzschium*, *Talmudische Studien. Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche.* 1854. p. 280—283.

[3] Vide de hac re *Zunzium*, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* p. 101 sq.

[4] Hac de re disceptatu difficillima haec tantum monere juvat: *a*) *Philonem* tripartitum librorum sacrorum corpus novisse libri de vita contemplativa loco illo, qui *νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ τελειοῦνται* commemorat (T. II, p. 475 ed. Mangey), certo evincitur. *b*) *Josephus* Hierosolymis quidem natus, eruditione vero Graecus, viginti duos tantum libros agnoscit, in primo eorum ordine quinque Mosis scripta collocans, *ἃ τούς τε νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς;* in secundo tredecim libros historiarum et vaticiniorum a prophetis conscriptos; in tertio quatuor libros hymnos et praecepta continentes, de quibus verbis loco Philoneo simillimis ita dicit: *ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν* (c. Ap. I, 8. T. II, p. 441 ed. Havercamp.). Hi viginti duo libri non alii sunt nisi ii, qui a Palaestinensibus quoque canonici habebantur, cum partitionem solitam sequens

tentes ex *Josepho* audiamus, quo in pretio Judaei illum scriptorum thesaurum habuerint. Josephus loco illo celeberrimo, quo veritatem historiographiae hebraicae contra Apionem defendit (I, 8. T. II, p. 441 sq.), populi sui causam agit minimeque novam doctrinam, sed ea tantum, quae omnium suorum popularium tamquam mentibus infixa erant, profert. *Οὐ γὰρ* — inquit — *μυριάδες βιβλίων εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων· δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. ..... Δῆλον δ' ἔστιν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίοις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν· τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳχηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναί τις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν. Πᾶσι γὰρ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις ὀνομάζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως.* Ex his verbis intelligimus, Israelitarum gentem persuasum sibi habuisse, Scripturas sacras non ab hominibus vel ab hominibus solis, sed a Deo profectas, ergo inspiratas esse. Quae quidem certitudo effecit, ut iis divina auctoritas tribueretur, neque hoc eo demum consilio factum est, ut recitatio eorum synagogalis defenderetur. Qualem autem Dei concursum in actu compositionis Scripturarum sacrarum statuerunt? Judaismum primum

librum Ruth cum libro Judicum, Threnos cum Jeremia, Esram cum Nehemia conjungat, arbitrarie autem Iobum historice inchoantem et exeuntem libris historico-propheticis annumeret, ita ut tertium ordinem Psalmi tantum, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum efficiant. c) In Alexandrina quidem versione, quae regnante Ptolemaeo Philadelpho (ao. 281—246) inchoata esse dicitur, libri canonici et apocryphi, inter quos nonnulli ut liber Sapientiae nunquam lingua hebraica scripti fuerunt, permixti sunt; hoc vero propterea factum est, quia Judaei Alexandrini parum accurate statuerunt, qualem libri qui in codicem sacrum recipiatur indolem esse oporteat, atque inde non nisi id sequitur, codicem quidem, minime autem canonem Alexandrinorum plures libros quam canonem Palaestinensium amplexum esse. — Cfr. ad hoc *Oehlerum* s. v. *Kanon des alten Testaments* in *Herzogii* RE. T. VII, p. 254 sqq.

talmudicum sive pharisaicum, deinde graecum sive hellenisticum hac de re audiamus.

A. Ac primum quidem **Judaismum talmudicum** Palaestinae et Babyloniae considerantes multos locos in utroque Talmude reperimus, qui *de inspiratione Thorae* agunt et quamvis in rebus levioribus quodammodo inter se discripent tamen hoc unum omnes contendunt, Thorae prae ceteris sacris libris insigni quodam modo originem divinam tribuendam esse. Quod jam inde apparet quod codex talmudicus solius Thorae locos sexcenties formulis אמר רחמנא (אמר הקב"ה), כתב רחמנא et similibus affert. Exemplo sint loci qui sequuntur:

Berachoth 47ᵇ:	ורחמנא אמר Lev. XXVII, 19. Deut. XIV, 25.
Schabbath 52ᵃ:	אמר רחמנא Num. XIX, 2.
Maccoth 16ᵃ:	דרחמנא אמר Lev. XIX, 3. V, 23. XIX, 9.
Joma 41ᵇ:	מִעֵט רחמנא (subtrahit) Lev. XIV, 21.
Joma 45ᵇ:	כתב רחמנא Lev. XVI, 12.
Joma 7ᵇ:	וְקַרְיֵיהּ רחמנא (nominat id) Deut. XIV, 16.
Sebachim 29ᵃ:	מִדְּאַפְּקֵיהּ רחמנא (quia id excipit) Lev. XIX, 6 (Cfr. 70ᵃ).
Sebachim 28ᵇ:	ומיעט רחמנא Lev. XIX, 8.
Sebachim 77ᵃ:	מיעט רחמנא Lev. II, 12.
Sebachim 85ᵃ:	אמר רחמנא Lev. I, 6.
Sebachim 89ᵇ:	אמר רחמנא Num, VIII, 12.
Sebachim 99ᵃ:	ורחמנא רַבְּיֵיהּ (addit id) Lev. VI, 19.
Sanhedrin 43ᵃ:	כתב רחמנא Lev. XXIV, 23. Num. XV, 36.
Sanhedrin 69ᵃ:	ואמר רחמנא Num. V. 8.
Schabuoth 15ᵃ:	{ דכתב רחמנא / מיעט רחמנא } Num. IV, 12.
Schabuoth 25ᵇ:	אַפְּקֵיהּ רחמנא Lev. V, 4.
Horajoth 3ᵇ:	דְּקָאָמַר רחמנא Lev. IV, 13.

Horajoth 5b:	כתב רחמנא Num. XV, 24.
Horajoth 9a:	מְמַעֵט לֵיהּ רחמנא Lev. V, 13.
Horajoth 9a:	דכתביה רחמנא Lev. V, 13.
Horajoth 12b:	קאמר רחמנא Num. XXVIII, 23.
Rosch haschana 6b:	אמר רחמנא Deut. XXIII, 22.
Rosch haschana 16a:	רחמנא אמר Lev. XXIII, 24.
Rosch haschana 34a:	וקאמר רחמנא Lev. XXV, 9.
Kidduschin 7a:	אמר רחמנא Deut. XXIV, 5.
Kidduschin 14b:	מדמיעט רחמנא Ex. XXI, 6.
Kidduschin 15a:	כתב רחמנא Lev. XXV, 10. Ex. XXI, 6.
Kidduschin 27b:	אמר רחמנא Num. V, 31.
Kidduschin 37b:	כתב רחמנא Deut. XVII, 14. XXVI, 1.
Joma 41b:	הָא רַבֵּי רחמנא (ecce addit) Lev. XIV, 2.

Idem alia quoque Talmudis testimonia confirmant. In tractatu *Sanhedrin* 99a ad Num. XV, 31 dicitur: Quicunque legem generaliter quidem pro divinitus orta habeat, unicum vero versum a Mose ex semet ipso dictum esse opinetur, eum Verbi divini abnegatorem et contemtorem esse: האומר אין תורה מן השמים ואפילו אמר כל התורה כולה מן השמים חוץ מפסוק זה שלא אמרו הקב״ה אלה משה מפי עצמו זה הוא כי דבר וכו׳ Vere autem et mere divina Thora non aestimatur, nisi Deus eam aut sua ipsius manu scripserit aut Mosi ut amanuensi suo in calamum dictaverit. Quare et hoc et illud in Talmude dogmatis instar docetur. Nam in Gemara palaestinensi *Schekalim* VI, § 1 dicitur Deum Mosi Thoram igne albo h. e. literis igneis iisque albis igni nigro quasi monumento insculptam tradidisse: תורה שנתן הקב״ה לו למשה אש לבנה חרותה באש שחורה et in tractatu *Gittin* 60a de eo disputatur, utrum Thora singulis voluminibus (מגילה מגילה ניתנה) an completa et perfecta (תורה חתומה ניתנה) a Deo Mosi sit tradita. Atque in gravissima illa ideoque multum discussa Barajtha Gemarae babylonicae *Baba bathra* 15a conceditur quidem, ultimos octo

versus Deuteronomii (XXXIV, 5 sqq.) a Josua adscriptos esse; sed ex aliorum sententia cogitari non potest, libro Thorae, quem Moses sacerdotibus recondendum tradiderit, vel unam literam (אות אחת) defuisse, et inde conficitur, Mosen non solum usque eo, ubi ad populum loqui desinit, et dicentem et scribentem Dei instrumentum fuisse, sed etiam illos versus, qui mortem ejus referunt, adjecisse Deo dictante, ipso magno cum fletu scribente: עד כאן הקב״ה אומר ומשה אומר וכותב מכאן ואילך הקב״ה אומר ומשה כתב בדמע Comparatur ibi Moses cum Barucho, qui principibus interrogantibus respondit: Jeremia mihi haec omnia verba dictavit, equidem ea atramento literis mandavi (Jer. XXXVI, 18).

Reperiuntur quidem loci, quibus Mosi plus quam conscriptio verborum, quae Deus dictaverit, tribuitur. Nam in tr. *Megilla* 31^{b} verborum, quibus legem violantibus exsecratio denuntiatur, forma, quae in Lev. XXVI exstat, praefertur illi formae, quae in Deut. XXVIII invenitur, atque has quidem ob causas: primum quod minae in Lev. XXVI toti coetui sacro sint dicta, in Deut. XXVIII singulis; deinde quod in Lev. XXVI Deus, in Deut. XXVIII Moses loquatur. Quam ob causam distinguitur, Mosen illas minas מפי הגבורה, has מפי עצמו pronuntiavisse, quae distinctio quamquam harum inspirationem infitiari non vult, tamen quandam inspirationis varietatem admittit. Hoc vero ex omnibus Talmudis locis, qui ad Thorae inspirationem pertinent, certo colligitur, Thoram opus eminentissime divinum habitum omnibusque libris sacris antepositum esse.

Quapropter codex talmudicus Thoram et cetera scripta sacra accuratissime discernit et Thorae excellentiam atque dignitatem, qua cetera omnia superat, attribuit. In tr. *Megilla* III, 1 dicitur: quo pretio quis ספרים vendiderit eo Thoram emere fas esse, sed quo pretio Thoram vendiderit ספרים

emere esse nefas. Et in *Tosiphta Megilla* III vetatur, ne Thorae et Prophetarum libri eodem involucro conserventur, atque adeo ne volumen propheticum volumini Thorae superimponatur.

Sed ante omnia quanto in honore Thora fuerit inde elucet quod נביאים tamquam קבלה h. e. traditio, itaque revelatio secundi ordinis a Thora distinguuntur (Taanith 15ᵃ. Rosch haschana 7ᵃ. Chagiga 10ᵇ. Nidda 23ᵃ. Baba kamma, initio. Sanhedrin 99ᵇ. Mechilta ad Ex. XII, 39. Sifra ad Num. XV, 27). In tr. *Sanhedrin* 22ᵇ (cfr. ibid. 83ᵇ) legitur: דבר זה מתורת משה רבינו לא למדנו עד שבא יחזקאל ולמדנו כל־בן נכר ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבוא אל־מקדש לשרתני [1] At *Taanith* 71ᵇ ita legimus: דבר זה מתורת משה לא למדנו ומדברי קבלה למדנו וכו׳ Qui duo loci secum comparati ostendunt, verba Prophetarum tamquam דברי קבלה Thorae opponi solita esse. Id ipsum Masorae quoque veteris testimonio comprobatur, quae aramaico sermone, quo uti solet, Prophetas priores אַשְׁלֶמְתָּא קַדְמָיְיתָא, Prophetas posteriores אַשְׁלֶמְתָּא תִנְיָנָא nuncupat. Nemo adhuc hanc vocem אַשְׁלֶמְתָּא recte intellexit. Fuerunt qui eam complementum, alii qui eam supplementum scil. Thorae significare dicerent. Sed aliter rem se habere et hanc quoque Masorae vocem Prophetas ut traditionem a Thora discernere a S. *Baerio,* viro rerum masoreticarum peritissimo, edoctus sum. Aphel enim אַשְׁלֵם, unde illud אַשְׁלֶמְתָּא derivatum est, in Chaldaismo biblico, targumico, talmudico vulgarem lateque diffusam vim tradendi habet, quae quidem etiam in lingua syriaca et arabica invenitur. Quare in Targume *Onkelosi* hebraicum הִסְגִּיר Deut. XXXII, 30 aramaico אַשְׁלֵם redditur. Vox אַשְׁלֵם ita intellecta etiam in sermonem poëseos synagogalis transiit. In

[1] Eadem habent loci paralleli Joma 71ᵃ; Moëd katan 5ᵃ; Sebachim 18ᵇ.

liturgia diei expiationis matutina *Kalirius*, poetarum liturgicorum clarissimus, canit:

אֲיַחֵד .זִכְרְךָ תָּמִיד נֶשֶׁף וָשַׁחַר
עַד אַשְׁלִים לְךָ אֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ:

h. e. unitatem essentiae Tuae semper celebrabo tempore et nocturno et matutino, donec (moriens) tradam Tibi animam.

Disceptatum est, utrum vox קבלה, qua libri prophetici Thorae postponuntur, in Talmude ad Hagiographa quoque referatur. *Herzfeldus*[1] id temere negavit. Nam re vera traditioni h.e. revelationi secundi ordinis annumerantur etiam Psalmi (Sifra ad Num. XV, 27), Iobus (Nidda 25), Canticum Canticorum (Mechilta ad Ex. XII, 16), Ecclesiastes (Mechilta ad Ex. 20, 17), Esra (Pesikta rabba Sectio 14). Nec magis *Graetzio*[2] probare contigit, prophetica tantum scripta, non hagiographa ספרים h. e. libros *κατ' ἐξ.* nominata esse.

Nunc autem disserendum est de eo quid *de ratione inspirationis librorum Thora inferiorum* Talmudici cogitaverint. Ut a *Prophetis* initium faciamus, observandum est, magistros talmudicos non modo vaticinia Jesaiae usque ad Malachiam, sed etiam historias a libro Josuae usque ad librum Regum viris prophetico charismate praeditis assignare. Reperiuntur autem complures loci talmudici, qui ad personas prophetarum ipsorum respicientes varietatem propheticorum charismatum profitentur. In tr. *Sanhedrin* 89ª legitur: סיגנון אחד עולה לכמה נביאים ואין שני נביאים מתנבאים בסיגנון אחד h. e. omnes prophetae simili quidem indole et quasi signaturâ sunt, minime pari. Et in tr. *Chagiga* 13ᵇ: כל שראה יחזקאל ראה ישעיה למה יחזקאל דומה לבן כפר שראה את מלך ולמה ישעיה דומה לבן כרך שראה את המלך h. e. quaecunque Jesaias vidit et Ezechiel vidit; sed Jesaias oppidano (qui aspectui regis assuetus brevis

1 *Koheleth* p. 150.
2 *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II, p. 18 sq.

est in describendo) similis est, Ezechiel rustico (qui regem raro conspiciens singula quaevis admiratione digna habet).[1]

De libris, qui vocantur כתובים, nullos locos nobis praesto esse confitemur, e quibus clare intelligi possit, cur et quatenus ii Judaeis fuerint *γράμματα δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα.* Hoc tamen affirmari posse arbitramur, *Hagiographa* apud Judaeos non tantum valuisse quantum duas priores canonis partes. Nam loci Thorae et Prophetarum communi formula כמו שנאמר, ex Hagiographis peculiari formula ככתוב afferuntur, unde merito concludimus, Hagiographis non eundem honorem ac Prophetis, ne dicam Thorae attribui. Mediae quae vocatur aetatis Judaeorum theologia נביאים et כתובים variis inspirationis gradibus addicens illos libros ברוח הנבואה, hos ברוח הקדש scriptos esse docebat.[2] Quam quidem distinctionem a theologis Judaeorum scholasticis, imprimis a *Maimonide* (mort. ao. 1204) et *Isaaco Abravanelio* (mort. ao. 1508), excultam huic quam nunc tractamus aetati jam innotuisse probare non possumus et propterea evinci nequit, כתובים idem esse ac כתובים ברוח הקדש At non possumus non concedere, illam ipsam distinctionem fundamentum tamquam tacitum partitionis canonis esse et scholasticos nonnisi diserte explicuisse, quod jam veteres in mente habuerant.

Ex his, quae modo protulimus, sententiam Judaeorum talmudicorum de librorum sacrorum inspiratione hanc fuisse colligimus: Primum Thorae originem mere et strictissime divinam esse, ita ut aut a Deo ipso scripta aut Mosi in calamum dictata fuerit; deinde prophetas non ita a spiritu divino fuisse oppressos, ut persona eorum plane quasi evanesceret et Spiritus per eos tamquam instrumenta ratione carentia locutus

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1 Vide alia exempla apud *Hamburgerum*, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud.* IV, p. 857.

2 Cfr. *Sonntagium* l. c. p. 119 sqq. *Rudelbachium* l. c. p. 57 sqq.

esset; postremo Hagiographa et origine et auctoritate inferiore loco quam Thoram et Prophetas ponenda esse, quippe in quibus conscribendis auctorum ingenium et persona praevaluerit. Nusquam igitur ullum vestigium exstat illius de inspiratione doctrinae, quae

B. in **Judaismo graeco**, ad quem investigandum jam progredimur, invenitur.

Philo non minus quam *Josephus* omnes antiqui foederis scriptores prophetas nominat idque non quia omnes vaticinati sint, sed quia omnes inspirati fuerint. *Philo* enim vocabulum *προφήτης* eodem sensu quo *θεσπέσιος*, *θιασώτης* usurpans unicuique justo et sapienti viro, etiam sibimet ipsi, ergo auctoribus quoque librorum Veteris Testamenti *προφητείαν* tribuit; et *Josephus* Artaxerxis Longimani regnum, in quod res libro Estherae narratas cadere putat[1], terminum canonicarum literarum constituit, non ulterius promovendum *διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχήν.*[2] De hujus *προφητείας* ratione quid senserit *Philo* multis locis nobis exponit. Priusquam, inquit, homo lumine divino illuminatur, humanae mentis lumen occidat necesse est; humanae rationi sua quasi arx est relinquenda, ut Spiritus divinus introeat. Hoc modo homo Dei per ipsum loquentis organum fit suimet ipsius non conscium ac voluntate propria privatum; nihil aliud est nisi interpres Spiritus divini nescius quid loquatur. Homo inspiratus non solum in regnum coeleste raptus, sed etiam mente captus est; conditio ejus est *ἔκστασις* et *θεοφόρητος μανία.*[3]

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[1] *Antiqq.* XI, 6. T. I, p. 566 sqq.

[2] *C. Ap.* I, 8. T. II, p. 441.

[3] *Quis rer. div. haer.* T. I. p. 511: *Ὅτε μὲν φῶς ἐπιλάμψει τὸ θεῖον, δύεται τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ὅτε δὲ ἐκεῖνο δύει, τοῦτ' ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. Τῷ δὲ προφητικῷ γένει φιλεῖ τοῦτο συμβαίνειν· ἐξοικίζεται μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἄφιξιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἐνοικίζεται. Θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοι-*

Josephum eandem inspirationis notionem habuisse ex ejus *Antiqq.* l. IV, 6, 5 (T. I, p. 216 sqq.) satis elucet. Ibi enim Bileamum, qui Israelitis contra suam et Balaaci voluntatem fausta apprecatus est, defensurus hunc ita loquentem facit, ut non suam tantum conditionem propheticam describat, sed prophetarum vices agens omnibus oppressionem menti a spiritu Dei illatam attribuat.[1]

κῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο ἡ δύσις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν σκότος ἔκστασιν καὶ θεοφόρητον μανίαν ἐγέννησεν. Ὄντως γὰρ ὁ προφήτης, καὶ ὁπότε λέγειν δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἡσυχάζει, καταχρῆται δὲ ἕτερος αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωνητηρίοις ὀργάνοις, στόματι καὶ γλώττῃ πρὸς μήνυσιν ὧν ἂν θέλῃ. Τέχνῃ δ' ἀοράτῳ καὶ παμμούσῳ ταῦτα κρούων εὔηχα καὶ παναρμόνια καὶ γέμοντα συμφωνίας τῆς πάσης ἀποτελεῖ. — *De monarch.* I. T. II, p. 222: Ὁ προφήτης, εἰ λέγει, οὐ δύναται καταλαβεῖν, ὅγε κατεχόμενος ὄντως καὶ ἐνθουσιῶν, ὅ δ' ἐνηχεῖται διελεύσεται καθάπερ ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου. Ἑρμηνεῖς γάρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται θεοῦ καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὀργάνοις πρὸς δήλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθελήσῃ. — *De spec. leg.* T. II, p. 343: προφήτης οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἑρμηνεὺς, ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρει καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνθουσιᾷ γεγονὼς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, μετανισταμένου μὲν τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ παρακεχωρηκότος τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρόπολιν, ἐπιπεφοιτηκότος δὲ καὶ ἐνῳκηκότος τοῦ θείου πνεύματος καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς φωνῆς ὀργανοποιΐαν κρούοντος καὶ ἐνηχοῦντος εἰς ἐναργῆ δήλωσιν ὧν προθεσπίζει. — *Quis rev. div. haer.* T. I, p. 482: Τίς οὖν γενήσεται κληρονόμος; οὐχ ὁ μένων ἐν τῇ σώματος εἱρκτῇ λογισμὸς καθ' ἑκούσιον γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὁ λυθεὶς τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ ἐλευθερωθεὶς καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν προεληλυθὼς, καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν καταλελοιπώς. Ὃς γάρ, φησίν, ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ, οὗτος κληρονομήσει σε. Πόθος οὖν εἴ τις εἰσέρχεταί σε, ψυχή, τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν κληρονομῆσαι, μὴ μόνον γῆν, τὸ σῶμα καὶ συγγένειαν, αἴσθησιν καὶ οἶκον πατρὸς, τὸν λόγον, καταλίπῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεαυτὴν ἀπόδραθι, καὶ ἔκστηθι σεαυτῆς, καθάπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες καὶ κατεχόμενοι, βακχευθεῖσα καὶ θεοφορηθεῖσα κατά τινα προφητικὸν ἐπιθειασμόν. Ἐνθουσιώσης γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἔτι οὔσης ἐν ἑαυτῇ διανοίας, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι οὐρανίῳ σεσοβημένης καὶ ἐκμεμηνείας καὶ ἄνω πρὸς αὐτὸν εἱλκυσμένης, προϊούσης ἀληθείας καὶ τὰν ποσὶν ἀναστελλούσης, ἵνα κατὰ λεωφόρου βαίνοι τοῦ ὁδοῦ, τὸ γενέσθαι τῶν θείων κληρονόμον.

[1] Καὶ ὁ μὲν (scl. Bileamus) τοιαῦτα ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὢν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ κεκινημένος. — — ὦ Βάλακε, φησί (scl. Bileamus), δοκεῖς, ἐφ' ἡμῖν (i. e. prophetis) εἶναί τι περὶ τῶν τοιού-

Sed jam disceptandum nobis est, *utrum Philo et Josephus hanc ecstasin et θεοφόρητον μανίαν assignaverint soli actui loquendi et praedicandi an etiam scribendi,* id quod affirmandum videtur hisce de causis. **a)** Si homo, quamdiu Spiritu divino impletus est (καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐνθουσιᾷ), ut Philo ait, in amentia est constitutus (γεγονὼς ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ), et, ut Josephus ait, nihil scit neque est in semet ipso (οὐδὲν εἰδὼς, οὐκ ὢν ἐν ἑαυτῷ), ita ut inspiratio idem sit ac furor (*μανία, κορυβαντιᾶν*), fieri nequit, ut in actu scribendi recordatio sit unicus fons, unde haurit. **b)** Locos Scripturae sacrae ita Philo allegat, ut etiam in actu scribendi inspirationem manticam agnoscat, velut: *μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοί τις τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν, ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν* (Jes. V, 7)[1], vel: *μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προφητικοῦ θιασώτης χοροῦ, ὃς καταπνευσθεὶς ἐνθουσιῶν ἀνεφθέγξατο* (Jer. XX, 10).[2] **c)** Philo, qui sibimet ipsi statum *τοῦ θεοληπτεῖσθαι* et facultatem *περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδε μαντεύεσθαι* tribuit[3], inspirationem manticam etiam in actu scribendi diserte sibi vindicat loco illo pulcherrimo libri *de migratione Abrahami,* ubi narrat quid ipsi acciderit saepissime. Aggressus scribere, inquit (sec. vers. Mang.), pro more de re philosophica et

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των σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λάβῃ πνεῦμα; φωνὰς γὰρ, ἃς βούλεται τοῦτο, καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότων ἀφίησι. — — ἦν τέ μοι δι' εὐχῆς μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν (scl. maledicendi Judaeis). *Κρείττων δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὧν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν· παντελῶς γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγιγνώσκειν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων παρ' ἑαυτῶν λαμβάνοντες, ὥστε μὴ ταῦθ' ἅπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεῖον λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι φθάνοντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον.* — Cfr. *Bretschneiderum*, Capita theologiae Judaeorum dogmaticae e Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta. Lips. 1812. § 3.

1 T. I, p. 681.

2 T. I, p. 411.

3 *De Cherubim* T. I, p. 143: *Ἤκουσα δέ ποτε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρου λόγου παρὰ ψυχῆς ἐμῆς εἰωθυίας τὰ πολλὰ θεοληπτεῖσθαι καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδε μαντεύεσθαι.*

exacte sciens, quid dicendum esset, reperi mentem nolle quicquam parere, atque ita recessi re infecta, damnata ejus opinatione, admiratus vero potentiam Ejus qui est, aperientis claudentisque animae uterum. Interdum autem vacuus accedens plenus repente factus sum, nivis imbrisque more superne incidentibus cogitationibus, ut quasi numine correptus nec locum agnoscerem nec praesentes nec me ipsum nec quae disserebam vel scribebam. Sensi enim interpretationis copiam, lucis usum, visum acutissimum, evidentiam rerum manifestam, qualis oculis e clara demonstratione percipitur.[1] **d)** Eadem sententia elucet e narratione illa a Judaeis hellenisticis linguae hebraicae imperitis excogitata de origine Alexandrinae Veteris Testamenti sive potius Pentateuchi versionis; nam tum Philo[2] tum Josephus[3] tradit, interpretes, quippe qui inspirati fuerint (*ἐνθουσιῶντες προεφήτευον*),[4] verbotenus consensisse; alter ab altero eo tantum discrepat, quod Josephus plus ficti et commentitii fabulae addit quam Philo. **e)** Denique omnino, id quod maximi momenti est, probari nequit, illis temporibus sive Judaeos sive patres ecclesiae acriter distinxisse inter

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[1] T. I, p. 441: *Τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ πάθος, ὃ μυριάκις παθὼν οἶδα, διηγούμενος οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι· βουληθεὶς ἔστιν ὅτε κατὰ τὴν συνήθη τῶν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν δογμάτων γραφὴν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἃ χρὴ συνθεῖναι ἀκριβῶς ἰδὼν, ἄγονον καὶ στεῖραν εὑρὼν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἄπρακτος ἀπηλλάγην, τὴν μὲν κακίσας τῆς οἰήσεως, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὄντος κράτος καταπλαγεὶς, παρ' οὗ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνοίγνυσθαί τε καὶ συγκλείεσθαι μήτρας συμβέβηκεν. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε κενὸς ἐλθὼν πλήρης ἐξαίφνης ἐγενόμην, ἐπινιφομένων καὶ σπειρομένων ἄνωθεν ἀφανῶς τῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων, ὡς ὑπὸ κατοχῆς ἐνθέου κορυβαντιᾶν καὶ πάντως ἀγνοεῖν τὸν τόπον, τοὺς παρόντας, ἐμαυτὸν, τὰ λεγόμενα, τὰ γραφόμενα. Σχεδὸν γὰρ ἑρμηνεύει εὕρεσιν* (fortasse legendum est *ἔσχον γὰρ ἑρμηνείας ῥεῦσιν*), *φωτὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, ὀξυδερκεστάτην ὄψιν, ἐνέργειαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριδηλοτάτην, οἷα γένοιτ' ἂν δι' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκ σαφεστάτης δείξεως.*

[2] *Vita Mos.* II T. II, p. 138 sqq.

[3] *Antiqq.* XII, 2. T. I, p. 588 sqq.

[4] *Vita Mos.* II. T. II, p. 140.

actum praedicandi et actum scribendi, inter revelationis historiam et conscriptionem.

His argumentis comprobatur, Philonem et Josephum non solum in munere publico, sed etiam in actu scribendi prophetis tribuisse *θεοφόρητον μανίαν*. Quaeri jam potest, *utrum Philo et Josephus quaecunque in Scriptura leguntur ἐν ἐκστάσει* et *μανίᾳ scripta esse senserint necne.* Negandum videtur, si reputes, *primum* Josephum adversus Apionem summam librorum Judaeis sacrorum *ἀξιοπιστίαν* adstruentem non omnibus quibuscunque potestatem scribendi datam esse dicere, sed hoc fuisse munus *τῶν προφητῶν τὰ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ τὰ παλαιότατα κατὰ τὴν ἐπίπνοιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαθόντων, τὰ δὲ καθ' αὑτοὺς ὡς ἐγένετο σαφῶς συγγραφόντων*[1], quibus quidem verbis indicare videtur, ea quae scriptores sacri de sua aetate referunt sine afflatu divino conscripta esse; *deinde* ne Mosaicorum quidem librorum materiam e revelatione tantum deduci loco illo *Antiqq.* IV, 6, 13 (T. I, p. 223), ubi legimus Mosem Bileami vaticinia tanti fecisse, ut sui ipsius scriptis ea interseruerit.[2] At loci isti, quibus humanae quoque naturae librorum sacrorum ratio haberi videtur, sunt perpauci; neque inde concludere nobis licet, Philonem et Josephum variam Dei in libris illis exarandis efficaciam statuisse. Nam primum omnes auctores sacros prophetas dicunt; deinde unum tantum inspirationis propheticae modum commemorant; libros denique historicos, imprimis Pentateuchicos, Philo allegorice interpretatur ac proinde originem strictissime divinam iis attribuit. Attamen concedimus libros sacros a Philone et Josepho non eodem loco haberi, id quod his quae adjicimus argumentis conficitur:

1. *Thora* non minus a graeco quam a talmudico Judaismo

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1 I, 7. T. II, p. 441.

2 *τὸν Βάλαμον . . . . . μεγάλως ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράψας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας.*

sacerrimus liber aestimabatur.[1] Moses sanctissimus (*Μωσῆς ὁ ἱερώτατος*) et a Deo dilectissimus (*θεοφιλέστατος*)[2] est, sicuti *Philo* dicit, *ἀρχιπροφήτης*[3] et mysteriis divinis prae omnibus initiatus[4] et purissimus animus, vere generosus, qui e numinis afflatu furore correptus legislatoriam ac propheticam facultatem adeptus est.[5] Loci e Pentateucho desumti ab eo laudantur verbis *κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον Μωσέως γράμμα* et quaecunque Moses scripsit oracula nominantur.[6] In eadem sententia fuit *Josephus*.[7] Hinc Hellenistas quoque totam legem ne uno quidem versu excepto ab hoc maximo propheta literis consignatam existimasse verisimile est, et revera quemadmodum Talmud sic et Philo[8] et Josephus[9] ea, quae Deut. XXXIV,

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[1] Cfr. *Sir.* XXIV, 18—27, ubi *βίβλος διαθήκης θεοῦ ὑψίστου* sive *νόμος, ὃν ἐνετείλατο Μωϊσῆς κληρονομίαν συναγωγαῖς Ἰακώβ* describitur tamquam fons exundans omnis cognitionis et sapientiae.

[2] *De Mos.* III. T. II, p. 164: *Μωσῆς ὁσιώτατος καὶ θεοφιλέστατος τῶν πώποτε γενομένων.*

[3] *De nom. mutatione.* T. I, p. 597.

[4] *De opif. mundi.* T. I, p. 2: *Μωσῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὴν φθάσας ἀκρότητα καὶ χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνεκτικώτατα τῶν τῆς φύσεως ἀναδιδαχθείς.*

[5] *De Congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia.* T. I, p. 538: *Οὗτός ἐστι Μωϋσῆς, ὁ καθαρώτατος νοῦς, ὁ ἀστεῖος ὄντως, ὁ νομοθετικὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ προφητικὴν ὁμοῦ ἐνθουσιώσῃ καὶ θεοφορήτῳ σοφίᾳ λαβών.*

[6] *De Mos.* III. T. II, p. 163: *οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὡς πάντα εἰσὶ χρησμοί, ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται, χρησθέντες δι' αὐτοῦ.*

[7] Cfr. *Bretschneiderum* l. c. § 4.

[8] *De Mos.* III. T. II, p. 179: *Ἤδη ἀναλαμβανόμενος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς βαλβίδος ἑστὼς, ἵνα τὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν δρόμον διανύῃ διϊπτάμενος, καταπνευσθεὶς καὶ ἐπιθειάσας ζῶν ἔτι τὰ ὡς ἐπὶ θανόντι ἑαυτῷ προφητεύει δεξιῶς, ὡς ἐτελεύτησε μήπως τελευτήσας, ὡς ἐτάφη μηδενὸς παρόντος, δηλονότι χερσὶν οὐ θνηταῖς, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις δυνάμεσιν κτλ.*

[9] *Antiqq.* IV, 8, 48. T. I, p. 255: *ἀσπασομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλῶντος αὐτοῖς ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος· γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν,*

5 sqq. narrantur, Mosi revelata et ab ipso literis mandata esse arbitrantur. Discernit quidem etiam Philo, cum oraculorum Pentateuchi alia a Deo ipso per Mosen pronuntiata, alia Mosi interroganti a Deo tradita, alia a Mose in ecstasi constituto pronuntiata esse existimet, similiter atque Talmud[1] duas inspirationis species: *ἑρμηνείαν*, quae propterea quod in ea solus Deus loquatur et una quasi persona cum interprete fiat, sanctissima sit et inexplicabilis, atque *προφητείαν*, e qua reliqua oracula profluxerint.[2] Sed ita ideo tantummodo distinguit, quia singulas Thorae partes perlegenti haec occurrerant, nec quidquam inde acriori cogitatione concludit. Et profecto non patescit, qua ratione et quo jure Philo *ἑρμηνείαν* et *προφητείαν* discernere possit. Nam omnes sententias et voces et syllabas Thorae eodem honore prosequitur et quamlibet earum sive positionem sive omissionem pariter divinam et sanctam et divina mente divinisque mysteriis plenam aestimat,[3] ea in

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1 מפי הגבורה — מפי עצמו.

2 *De Mos.* III. T. II, p. 163 sq.: *τῶν λογίων γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται δι' ἑρμηνέως τοῦ θείου προφήτου· τὰ δ' ἐκ πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως ἐθεσπίσθη, τὰ δ' ἐκ προσώπου Μωϋσέως ἐπιθειάσαντος καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατασχεθέντος......... Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὑπερθετέον· μείζονα γάρ ἐστιν ἢ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐπαινεθῆναι .... καὶ ἄλλως λέγεται ὡσανεὶ δι' ἑρμηνέως· ἑρμηνεία γὰρ καὶ προφητεία διαφέρουσι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν δευτέρων αὐτίκα πειράσομαι δηλοῦν συνυφήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνθουσιῶδες ἐμφαίνεται, καθ' ὃ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως νενόμισται προφήτης.* Cfr. *Daehnium*, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophie.* I, p. 60. *Gfroererum*, *Philon und die alexandrinische Theosophie.* I, p. 54.

3 De allegorica Philonis interpretatione cfr. *Gfroererum*, *Kritische Geschichte des Urchristenthums.* I. 1. p. 68 sqq. *Joannem Georgii*, *Ueber die neusten Gegensätze in Auffassung der Alexandrinischen Religionsphilosophie, insbesondere des jüdischen Alexandrinismus. Illgenii Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie.* 1839. IV, p. 4 sqq. Graecos quoque ipsorum historias sacras allegorice interpretatos esse demonstravit *Stuhrius*, *Allgemeiner Ueberblick über die Geschichte der Behandlung und Deutung der Mythen im Alterthume* in *Baueri Zeitschrift für speculative Theologie.* I. 2. p. 3 sqq. De Stoicorum allegorica interpretatione cfr. *Zellerum*, *Die Philosophie der Griechen.* III, 1. p. 300 sqq. (ed. II).

re adeo certus, ut hominis cujusdam, qui talem Scripturae sacrae venerationem in ludibrium verterat, celerem turpemque mortem aperte et ingenue derideat.[1] Unde elucet, eum interna necessitate adstrictum fuisse, ut opiniones suas philosophicas ab auctoritate legis, quam maxime venerabatur, non discrepare probaret.

2. Haec Thorae veneratio apud Philonem *reliquis libris sacris* aliqua ex parte detrimento est. Auctores eorum quantumvis *προφήτας*, *μύστας*, *θεσπεσίους*, *θιασώτας*, *ἱεροφάντας*, *μυσταγωγούς*, *τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ* nominet, tamen ut *Μωσέως ἑταίρους*, *μαθητάς*, *φοιτητάς* huic longe postponit. Scripta eorum multo rarius quam Thoram, aliquot nunquam affert, ita ut, quemadmodum etiamnunc Judaeorum plerique, inde a puero in Pentateucho prae ceteris libris institutum ac versatum eum esse appareat.[2] Vaticinia prophetarum parum curans paene solummodo in vaticiniis Mosaicis nititur. Attamen inde colligi nequit, e Philonis sententia ab auctoribus librorum Thoram insequentium aeque atque ab aliis praestantibus hominibus interdum aliquid eximii vel divini dictum, multum vero humani vel etiam falsi ei admixtum esse. Fuerunt quidem, qui verba illa libri *De Cherubim* (T. I, p. 147 sq.): *Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ παρὰ Μωσεῖ τῷ θεοφιλεῖ μυηθεὶς τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια, ὅμως αὖθις Ἱερεμίαν τὸν προφήτην ἰδὼν καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ μόνον μύστης ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱεροφάντης ἱκανὸς οὐκ ὤκνησα φοιτῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν*, ita interpretarentur: Jeremiam non solum arcana doctrinae Mosaicae intelligentia imbutum, sed etiam interdum propriis oculis divina intuitum esse.[3] At Mangey verius ita interpretatur: „Ego enim quam-

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[1] *De nom. mutat.* I, p. 587. Cfr. *Ewaldum*, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel.* VI, p. 245 sq. ed. II.

[2] Cfr. *Ewaldum* l. c.

[3] Cfr. *Daehnium* l. c.

vis apud amicum Dei Mosen magnis initiatus mysteriis tamen quia rursum Jeremia propheta conspecto cognovi eum non solum tenere mysteria, sed posse docere quoque, non gravatus sum scholam ejus frequentare.“ Quum vero Jeremiam paullo post *τὰ πολλὰ ἐνθουσιῶντα* nominet, haec verba certo dicere nolunt, librum prophetae illius maxima quidem ex parte a divina revelatione profectum esse, aliqua vero ex parte ab humano ingenio; nam Mosen quoque *χρησμοῖς τὰ πολλὰ ἀναδιδαχθέντα* nominat.[1] Tenemus igitur, in scriptis Philonis Thoram multo superiori loco quam reliquos libros sacros poni; et vicissim negamus, tam longe eos postponi, ut ad literas apocryphas propius quam ad Thoram accedant et *βιβλία δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα* esse desinant.

3. Philo et Josephus non solum auctoribus librorum sacrorum, sed etiam cuivis sapienti et justo[2], velut Hyrcano[3], etiam sibimet ipsis[4], inspirationem vindicant. Josephus prophetarum quidem successionem (*διαδοχήν*), at non charisma propheticum inde ab Artaxerxe Longimano exstinctum esse existimat. Hanc omnium Hellenistarum sententiam proponit etiam *liber Sapientiae* (VII, 27), qui sapientiam per aetates permeare, in sanctas animas intrare, amicos Dei prophetasque efficere ait. Curnam Hellenistae, sapientiam sive *λόγον* inter Deum et mundum intercedere docentes, inspirationis omnes sapientes et justos participes fieri posse negaverint? Ex hac finium inspirationis propagatione facile intelligitur, qua de causa versio

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1 *De opif. mundi* T. I, p. 2.

2 *Quis rer. div. haer.* T. I, p. 510: *Καὶ παντὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀστείῳ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προφητείαν μαρτυρεῖ.* — In libro *de praem. et poen.* T. II, p. 426 effatum vatis cujusdam divini (*θεσπίζοντος*) in Vetere Testamento non exstans laudatur.

3 *De bell. Jud.* I, 2, 8. T. II, p. 57.

4 *De migr. Abrah.* T. I, p. 441. *De bell. Jud.* III, 8, 3. T. II, p. 246. *Ibid.* IV, 10, 7. T. II, p. 310.

Alexandrina etiam libros apocryphos receperit et Judaismus graecus libros apocryphos a canonicis nunquam stricte distinxerit; sed inde non sequitur, scripta apocrypha, nedum quaepiam gentilium scripta eodem quo canonica honore ab Hellenistis digna habita esse. Nam probari nequit, libros illos apocryphos, quamquam ut genuina mentis Israeliticae monumenta in codicem receptos, unquam in templo Oniae vel in synagoga Alexandrina pariter ac canonicos praelegi solitos fuisse. Magna ceterum veritas illi Hellenistarum sententiae inest; nam inspiratio auctorum sanctorum, quae ad processum revelationis pertinet, si psychologice eam consideraveris, ab experientia omnium fidelium spirituali non secundum genus, sed secundum speciem tantum diversa est. Quin etiam permagni momenti ad historiam non solum dogmatum, sed revelationis ipsius illa Judaismi graeci opinio est, quoniam pro sua parte universalismum religionis christianae praeparavit eique viam aperuit. In eo autem errorem ejus positum esse censemus, quod inspirationis donum ultra fines revelationis extendit et id quod ad vim animae divinatoriam[1], indolem naturalem, ingenium, facultatem speculativam pertinet ad specialem Dei ejusque gratiae efficaciam retulit.

Postquam quid Philo et Josephus de inspiratione librorum sacrorum senserint investigavimus, inventa perlustrantes haec statuimus:

1. Inspiratio e Philonis et Josephi sententia est *ἔκστασις* et *μανία*.

2. Alia inspirationis forma in scriptis eorum non commemoratur.

3. Etiam actui scribendi inspirationem illam assignant.

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[1] Cfr. *Ernestum de Lasaulx*, *Die prophetische Kraft der menschlichen Seele in Dichtern und Denkern.* 1858.

4. Inspirationis omnes sapientes et justos participes fieri existimant.

Sed nondum Alexandrinismo valedicere nobis licet. Reliquum enim est, ut disquiramus, *undenam Philo et Josephus hanc inspirationis notionem hauserint.*

Vetus Testamentum novit ecstasin propheticam h. e. illam conditionem, qua homo a Spiritu divino tanta vi corripitur, ut a semet ipso quasi amotus et ab omnibus rebus, in quibus antea versabatur, avulsus res tantum coelestes et futuras intueatur et percipiat. Qui ecstaticus prophetiae status antiquioribus maxime temporibus invenitur; at postea quoque quum prophetia formam liberiorem magisque spiritualem nacta esset, status propheticus non quidem per se ipsum cum abalienatione mentis et deliquio sensuum conjunctus erat[1], sed non raro evenit, ut prophetae ad revelationem divinam accipiendam paterentur ecstasin, quae omnino nisi antea externi sensus agitari desierint et homo rebus externis ad tempus renuntiaverit cogitari non potest.[2] Sed primum haec ecstasis, sicut modo diximus, una tantum eaque rara species propheticae revelationis, minime generalis propheticae, nedum cujusvis inspirationis forma est; deinde nullibi V. T. docet, omnes revelationes *ἐν ἐκστάσει* esse consignatas; tertio status ecstaticus, quem Scriptura novit, cessationem quidem cogitationis discursivae, neutiquam vero talem mentis exturbationem infert, ut inspiratio sit *θεοφόρητος μανία*; promittit denique V. T. tempore Messiano donum Spiritus sancti i. e. רוח נבואה omni carni datum iri (Joel III), sed ante hoc tempus omnes sapientes et justos inspirationis participes fieri posse non docet. Itaque dicere non possumus, Philonem et Josephum suam de

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[1] Contra *Philippium*, *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre.* ed. II. I, p. 226 sq.

[2] Cfr. *Fr. Delitzschium*, *System der biblischen Psychologie.* ed. II. p. 358 sqq. *Gustavum Baurium*, *Der Prophet Amos* p. 7 sq.

inspiratione sententiam e Vetere Testamento petiisse. Gentilem de inspiratione sententiam fontem ejus esse ab omnibus fere conceditur. Tota antiquitate omnes extraordinariae hominum vires et facultates, eximia intelligentia, donum poëseos et cantus et vaticinationis, ardor amoris, studium belli, sollertia artificum ab immediato Deorum instinctu derivabantur, sicuti *Cicero* Nemo vir, inquit, magnus sine afflatu divino unquam fuit.[1] Homines divinitus instincti et inflammati nuncupabantur *θεόπνευστοι, θεοφόροι, θεοφόρητοι, θεοφορούμενοι, θεήλατοι, θεοδίδακτοι, θεοκίνητοι, θεοδέγμονες, θεοδέκτορες, θεοπρόποι, θεομάντεις, θεόφρονες, θεοφράδμονες, θεοφραδεῖς, θεῖοι, ἔνθεοι, κάτοχοι, ἐχόμενοι, κατεχόμενοι, κατόχιμοι, ἐπίπνοι, φοιβαστικοί, ἐνθουσιαστικοί, ἐνθουσιασταί, ἐνθουσιῶται, ἀποδαιμονίζοντες, βακχευόμενοι, μαινόμενοι*, divino numine afflati, divino spiritu instincti, furentes; status eorum dicebatur *θειασμός, ἐνθουσιασμός, θεοπνευστία, θεοφόρησις, θεοφορία, κατακωχή (κατοκωχή), κατοχή, μανία*, afflatus, inspiratio, furor, insania — quae quidem voces partim apud Philonem quoque inveniuntur. Hominem non prius carmen canere vel vaticinari posse *Plato* dicit, quam mens ejus penitus recesserit Deusque in eum intraverit;[2] ideo vero numen poetis et oracula edentibus et vatibus mentem auferre, ut indicet non homines mente abreptos tam eximia loqui, sed Deum uti illis tamquam ministris et instrumentis.[3] Nescire igitur

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1 *De nat. deor.* II, 66.

2 *Ion* p. 534 a: *κοῦφον γὰρ χρῆμα ποιητής ἐστι καὶ πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἷός τε ποιεῖν, πρὶν ἂν ἔνθεός τε γένηται καὶ ἔκφρων καὶ ὁ νοῦς μηκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνῇ· ἕως δ᾽ ἂν τουτὶ ἔχῃ τὸ κτῆμα, ἀδύνατος πᾶς ποιεῖν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος καὶ χρησμῳδεῖν.* *Tim.* p. 71 c: *μαντικὴν ἀφροσύνῃ θεὸς ἀνθρωπίνῃ δέδωκεν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔννους ἐφάπτεται μαντικῆς ἐνθέου καὶ ἀληθοῦς, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ καθ᾽ ὕπνον τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως πεδηθεὶς δύναμιν, ἢ διὰ νόσον ἤ τινα ἐνθουσιασμὸν παραλλάξας.*

3 *Ion* p. 534 c. d: *διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐξαιρούμενος τούτων τὸν νοῦν τούτοις χρῆται ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς χρησμῳδοῖς καὶ τοῖς μάντεσι τοῖς θείοις, ἵν᾽ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀκούοντες εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι οὐχ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες*

poetas et vates quid enuntient.[1] Quae quidem sufficiunt, ut Philonem inspirationis notionem a gentilibus mutuatum esse demonstretur.[2] Ethnicismus inspirationem idem ac *μανίαν* esse censet; poetis in actu scribendi inspirationem sive *ἔκστασιν* attribuit; fines inspirationis latissime extendit. Duplici tantum ratione Plato a Philone discrepat: primum eo quod *Plato* divinum illud, ad quod naturae finitae ut revelationem accipiat extollere sese necesse est, revera vim humanae animae ipsi innatam esse censet[3]; *Philo* supranaturalismo judaico coactus infinitum non in anima humana, sed in solo numine divino ponit; deinde vero quod *Plato* *μάντεις* et *προφήτας* h. e. vates et eos, qui visa et dicta ab inspiratis interpretantur, distinguit[4], apud *Philonem* *μάντεις* et *προφῆται* idem significant. Ceteroquin vero de inspiratione plane consentiunt, ita ut etiam hoc loco illud patrum ecclesiae dictum: *Φίλων Πλατωνίζει* verum esse appareat. Judaismi Alexandrini omnino propria est permixtio sententiarum judaicarum et gentilium. Quare ad

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οὕτω πολλοῦ ἄξια, οἷς νοῦς μὴ πάρεστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ θεὸς αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ λέγων, διὰ τούτων δὲ φθέγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

1 *Meno* p. 99 d: *ὀρθῶς ἄρ᾽ ἂν καλοῖμεν θείους τε οὓς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν χρησμῳδοὺς καὶ μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ποιητικοὺς ἅπαντας· καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτων φαῖμεν ἂν θείους τε εἶναι καὶ ἐνθουσιάζειν, ἐπίπνους ὄντας καὶ κατεχομένους ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅταν κατορθῶσι λέγοντες πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲν εἰδότες ὧν λέγουσι.* *Apol. Socr.* p. 22 c: *ἔγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν ἃ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλά, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι.*

2 Plures loci exstant apud *Sonntagium* l. c. p. 1 sqq. et *Grimmium* s. v. *Inspiration* in Encyclopaedia Ersch-Gruberiana. Sect. II. P. 19.

3 Cfr. *Ernestum de Lasaulx* l. c. p. 37 sqq.

4 *Tim.* p. 71 c. 72 a. b: *τοῦ δὲ μανέντος, ἔτι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μένοντος, οὐκ ἔργον τὰ φανέντα ἢ φωνηθέντα ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ κρίνειν, ἀλλ᾽ εὖ καὶ πάλαι λέγεται τὸ πράττειν καὶ γνῶναι τά τε αὑτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν σώφρονι μόνῳ προσήκειν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τὸ προφητῶν γένος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐνθέοις μαντείαις κριτὰς ἐπικαθιστάνει νόμος.*

ethnicismum potius quam ad Vetus Testamentum illa quoque sententia, qua Philo manticam inspirationis notionem comprobat, referatur necesse est, sententiam dico de discrimine inter Deum et creaturam tam immenso, ut Deus perfectissimus omnique numero absolutissimus fines finitos vere ingredi vel cum quopiam finito, utut perfectum est, conjungi nequeat, quia tali conjunctione utpote mixtione numen destrueretur. *Θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι*, inquit *Philo*[1], *θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι*, et his verbis demonstrat, mentem humanam Spiritu Dei superinveniente exturbari (*ἐξοικίζεσθαι τὸν νοῦν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἄφιξιν*). Quodsi verum est, Deum tam perfectum et tantopere supra quidvis finitum elatum esse, ut nullo modo cum eo conjungi possit, rectissime inde concluditur, inspirationem non esse liberam Spiritus divini cum humano unionem, sed oppressionem mentis humanae per Spiritum divinum. Quis non videt, hunc Philonis dualismum non differre a metaphysico Neopythagoreismi et Neoplatonismi fundamento?[2]

Nunc quid Judaismus et talmudicus et Alexandrinus de inspiratione Scripturae sacrae statuerit, satis investigasse nobis videmur. Inventorum summa haec est: Qantumvis severe ac rigide in Talmude de Thorae inspiratione judicetur, tamen Mosi in actu inspirationis conscientia sui ipsius non abjudicatur. At Hellenistae inspirationem vere divinam cum suspensione conscientiae humanae necessario conjunctam esse censent. Rectissime igitur *Baumgarten-Crusius*[3] liberiorem doctrinam judaicam et strictiorem hellenisticam distinguit. *Rudelbachius*[4] hanc distinctionem immerito perstringit.

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[1] *Quis rer. div. haer.* T. I, p. 511.

[2] Cfr. *Zellerum*, *Die Philosophie der Griechen.* III, 2, 2. p. 101. 214 sqq. 306 sqq. 368 sqq.

[3] *Dogmengeschichte* p. 883 sqq.

[4] L. c. p. 15.

II. Ad alteram exordii quaestionem: **Quid de inspiratione librorum Veteris Testamenti Dominus noster et apostoli ejus senserint**, aggredientes breves quam longi esse malumus, quia non multum certi hac de re proponendum habemus. A **Domino Jesu Christo** initium faciamus. Ejus orationes in evangeliis traditae demonstrant, quanti ei Scriptura valuerit et quomodo ipse ea innutritus fuerit.[1] Etiam libros apocryphos Jesum citare dictum est. Quod si verum esset, tamen non magis esset mirum quam id, quod Dominus interdum proverbia judaica vel rabbinorum enuntiata adhibet. Solemniter vero Jesum ex apocryphis libris tamquam e scriptis sacris *Joan.* VII, 38 et *Luc.* XI, 49 quaedam afferre nunquam satis probari poterit.[2] Sed hoc e *Luc.* XI, 49 sqq. consequitur, Jesum eundem quem nos Veteris Testamenti canonem novisse; nam hoc loco respicit ad primum et ad ultimum canonis librum, Genesin et alterum Chronicorum librum, in quo (cap. XXIV, 20 sqq.) martyrium Sacharjae, filii Jojadae, narratur.

Si quis objecerit, Jesum Scripturam Veteris Testamenti tantummodo propterea tanti fecisse, quia documentum vel monumentum revelationis sit, minime vero quia ab efficacia Spiritus sancti eam repetierit[3], interrogamus, quomodo fieri potuerit, ut apostoli ejus uno ore Veteris Testamenti originem divinam doceant. Regeritur quidem, Jesum *Joan.* V, 39 Judaeos vituperare, quod Scripturam ut thesaurum auctoritatis divinae perscrutentur;[4] sed falsa est haec interpretatio. Vituperat enim Jesus illic eam tantum Scripturae perscrutationem, quae vitam illam, cui Scriptura a Deo profecta nonnisi testimonium

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1 Cfr. *Lechlerum*, *Das alte Testament in den Reden Jesu. Theologische Studien und Kritiken.* 1854. IV.

2 Cfr. *Eundem* l. c. p. 788—790.

3 Cfr. *Rothium*, *Zur Dogmatik.* ed. II. p. 176.

4 Cfr. *Eundem* l. c. p. 177.

perhibet, in ipsa inveniri posse somnians Judaeos impediebat, quominus ad Jesum Christum, vitam veram, accederent.[1] An uno saltem argumento *Rothius* evincere potest, locum *Matth.* XXII, 43, quo Davidem psalmum CX. *ἐν πνεύματι* condidisse legimus, nihil de modo conscriptionis hujus psalmi dicere?[2] Hanc sententiam erroneam esse ostendit vel praesens *καλεῖ*, ad Scripturam, quam in manu habebant Judaei, respiciens. Porro ex iis, quae Dominus *Joan.* X, 35 et *Matth.* V, 18 (cfr. Luc. XVI, 17) pronuntiat, concludi potest, eum non tantummodo materiam eorum quae Scriptura continet, sed etiam elocutionem talem judicare, quae a Deo originem ducat; et revera cogitata hominis cum verbis, quibus exprimuntur, indissolubili vinculo cohaerent, ut ipse hebraicus sermo ostendit, qui cogitationem et locutionem uno verbo אמר comprehendit. Et vicissim exstant alia Domini effata, quorum primum locum oratio montana occupat, ex quibus apparet, eum revelationem Veteris Testamenti pro imperfecta, temporaria et ad statum populi, cui data est, paedagogice accommodata habere, unde efficitur, eum Scripturam Veteris Testamenti non tam mere divinam habere, ut similis sit libri coelitus delapsi et propterea affectionibus humanis prorsus liberi. Sic si judicasset, non poterat dicere quae *Matth.* XIX, 8 eum dixisse legimus. Ergo sententia Domini haec erit, Scripturam Veteris Testamenti inspiratam esse, quia tota perfectam illam revelationem, cujus ipse mediator est, praeparat, ita ut vel minutissimarum partium legis nulla abrogetur, quin spiritualiter impleta sit, et praedictionum nulla irrita fiat, imo in ipso ad finem perducatur. Ceterum non erat Domini nostri, quippe cujus opus vitae, non doctrinae inserviret, rationem inspirationis Scripturae sacrae, uti dogmaticorum est, subtiliter exponere.

[1] Cfr. *Kahnisium*, *Die lutherische Dogmatik.* I, p. 652.
[2] L. c.

Apostolos inspirationem Veteris Testamenti non addubitasse ab omnibus conceditur.[1] *Paulus* revelationis non minus consignationem quam historiam ad Deum referens nomen Dei et Scripturae sacrae promiscue usurpat[2] et illustri illo loco II *Tim.* III, 16 πᾶσαν γραφήν h. e. omnem omnino Scripturam (Veteris Testamenti) θεόπνευστον esse dicit. Quamvis inter theologos sit controversum, quomodo vox πᾶσα interpretanda et quibus cum verbis vox θεόπνευστος conjungenda sit[3], hoc tamen negari nequit, apostolum de toto Scripturae sacrae corpore cogitare omnesque ejus partes ad efficaciam Spiritus divini referre. Neque immerito suspicari possumus, Paulum, Gamalielis discipulum, Thoram ceteris libris sacris anteposuisse, quamquam nusquam hoc diserte dicit. Et quum vetus synagoga inspirationem tum ad argumenta tum ad verba referat, et sensum Scripturae, utpote divinae, tam locupletem esse censeat, ut interpretatio literalis atque historica eum non exhauriat, recte e *Gal.* III, 16 et IV, 22 sqq. concluseris, Paulum uti doctores judaicos sensum literalem (פשט, פשוט) et profundiorem quendam (דרש) discernere.[4] Idem valet de auctore *epistolae ad Hebraeos*, qui vel illos locos, ubi de Deo objective agitur[5], formulâ ὁ θεὸς λέγει vel similiter allegat et paene nusquam scriptorum mentionem facit[6], et cujus interpretandi ratio,

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[1] Cfr. *Rothium* l. c. p. 178.

[2] *Rom.* IX, 17. *Gal.* III, 8. 22.

[3] Cfr. *Rothium* l. c. p. 178 sq. *Kahnisium* l. c. p. 653.

[4] Cfr. *Tholuckium*, *Das alte Testament im neuen Testament.* § 2 et 4. *Diestelium*, *Geschichte des alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche.* p. 8. 11 sq.

[5] I, 6 sqq. IV, 4. 7. VII, 21. X, 30.

[6] *Rothius* l. c. p. 178. Not. 1 Bleekium sequens affirmat, nusquam in epistola ad Hebraeos scriptores librorum sacrorum humanos commemorari. Sed omisit locum II, 6, ubi Ps. VIII, 5—7 affertur ita: Διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων. Item IV, 7 Davidis mentio fit.

veluti psalmi VIII, tota supponit, non solum res, sed etiam verba Veteris Testamenti, quamquam ab hominibus profecta, divinam prae se ferre originem. Sed ne in hac quidem epistola, cujus auctor Alexandrina eruditione imbutus erat, ullum vestigium manticae inspirationis inveniri potest.

Nec his qui nunc nobis afferendi sunt locis doctrina illa continetur, locos dico I *Petr.* I, 10 sqq. et II *Petr.* I, 21. Priori loco, quo Spiritus Christi praeexistentis principium inspirationis propheticae nominatur, affirmat quidem Petrus, homines sanctos materiam revelationis, quippe quae iis divinitus communicata sit, non suamet ipsorum meditatione produxisse, sed meditationem et indagationem accepta revelatione secutam esse; quin etiam personam humanam in inspiratione prophetica longe magis quam in apostolica recedere indicat[1]; minime vero negat, prophetas in actu inspirationis suimet ipsorum fuisse compotes. Alterum vero locum, quo Petrus vel alius quis propheticam inspirationem describit his verbis: *Οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη ποτὲ προφητεία, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, haud caute interpretareris, si eam potissimum ob causam, quod vox *θεοφορεῖσθαι* antiquitus et apud Philonem idem significat ac *μαίνεσθαι*, auctorem hujus epistolae manticam docuisse inspirationem censeres. Quis non videt, verbum *φερόμενοι* verbo *ἠνέχθη* opponi[2] et homines Dei ita nuncupari, non quod mente alienati fuerint, sed quia, ut Calvinus ait, nihil a se ipsis ausi sint? Quamobrem hoc tantum illic docetur, prophetas neque publice praedicasse neque scripsisse nisi Spiritus divini vi commotos, ita ut et materia et forma vaticiniorum

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[1] Spiritus sanctus per prophetas locutus est (v. 11), apostoli in Spiritu sancto evangelium praedicaverunt (v. 12).

[2] Non ferebant, sed ferebantur (Bengelius).

a Deo profecta sit. Ceterum hi loci de prophetica tantum inspiratione agunt; quaenam vero fuerit Spiritus divini operatio in aliis librorum sacrorum scriptoribus incertum relinquunt.

Restat, ut inquiramus, utrum apostoli etiam scripta in canonem non recepta allegantes liberiorem Hellenistarum sententiam de finibus inspirationis secuti sint. Licet de locis I Cor. II, 9 et Jac. IV, 5 sq. ambigi possit, certe auctorem *epistolae quae dicitur Judae* libro Henochi et Ascensione Mosis ut libris sacris usum esse concedendum est. At non est, cur eo offendamur; nam primum auctor hujus epistolae apostolis non est annumerandus; deinde etiamsi probari posset, apostolos libros quosdam apocryphos in usum didacticum contulisse, tamen ecclesia eodem jure inter libros canonicos et apocryphos discerneret, quo dogma ecclesiae ea, quae Scriptura comprehendit, secundum notiones varias subtiliter distinguit.

Vidimus igitur, Dominum ejusque apostolos a Spiritu quidem revelationis repetiisse librorum sacrorum originem, sed nihil certi docuisse de modo inspirationis. Sed nunc pervestigatis iis, quae a Domino apostolisque et quae a Judaeis tum Palaestinensibus tum Alexandrinis de inspiratione circa antiquissimorum ecclesiae patrum aetatem prolata exstant, ad ipsam illorum patrum doctrinam transeamus.

Deliberantes autem, quem commentationi nostrae terminum poneremus, diu haesitavimus, utrum Theophilum Antiochenum excluderemus. Nam quum non prius quam a Theophilo inspirationem librorum Novi Testamenti doceri plurimorum sit sententia, novam ab eo aetatem incipiendam esse credideris. At videbimus, non recte judicare eos qui ita dicunt. Quare omnes secundi post Christum saeculi apologetas, quorum libri materiâ et consilio arctissime conjuncti sunt, comprehendere malumus. Quid Montanistae et auctores Pseudoclemen-

tinorum de inspiratione senserint, copiosius exponere intra hujus libelli fines supersedemus, at non negligemus ea quae illustrandis patrum sententiis inserviunt. Duabus vero commentationem nostram absolvemus partibus, investigantes quid patres apostolici et apologetae alterius saeculi primum de Veteris, deinde de Novi Testamenti inspiratione statuerint.

PARS PRIOR.

QUID PATRES APOSTOLICI ET APOLOGETAE ALTERIUS POST CHRISTUM SAECULI DE LIBRORUM VETERIS TESTAMENTI INSPIRATIONE STATUERINT.

I. Patrum apostolicorum sententiae.[1]

Patres apostolicos Scripturam Veteris Testamenti, quae ab initio in sacris christianorum coetibus praelegebatur (cfr. I Tim. IV 13), maximo honore maximaque pietate tamquam sacrosanctum veritatis divinae codicem prosecutos esse, libri eorum demonstrant. Imprimis Clemens Romanus et auctor epistolae quae dicitur Barnabae saepissime locos Veteris Testamenti formulis *γέγραπται, λέγει ἡ γραφή, λέγει τὸ γραφεῖον, φησὶ ὁ ἅγιος λόγος, λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* allegant et ex Vetere potissimum Testamento doctrinae christianae argumenta repetunt. **Clemens Romanus**, qui omnium librorum sacrorum auctores *προφήτας* h. e. homines divinitus inspiratos nominat,[2]

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[1] Patrum apostolicorum opera allegantes sequimur editionem *Dresselianam* alteram (1863). Sed etiam paginas editionis *Hefelianae* quartae (1855) et Novi Testamenti extra canonem recepti a *Hilgenfeldo* editi (1866), cujus tres priores fasciculi epistolas Clementis Romani et Barnabae atque Pastorem Hermae continent, apponemus.

[2] I *Cor.* XLIII, p. 88 (ed. Hef. p. 110 ed. Hilgf. I, p. 45): *Μωϋσῆς τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα ἐσημειώσατο ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις, ᾧ καὶ ἐπη-*

multis testimoniis e Vetere Testamento desumptis ab ira, invidia, superbia dehortatur, poenitentiam vero, fidem, hospitalitatem, humilitatem commendat et Corinthios ut Verbum divinum diligenter inspiciant admonet: *ἐν[κύπτετε] εἰς τὰς γραφὰς, τὰς ἀληθεῖς [ῥήσεις] πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου.*[1] **Barnabas** autem, qui cognitione mystici sensus Scripturae gloriatur[2], Vetere Testamento non sicuti Clemens paraenetice, sed apologetice utens tota epistola id agit, ut demonstret, inde ab initio Judaismi munus fuisse, oeconomiam Novi Testamenti praedicere et praefigurare; quem in finem non solum in vaticiniis et psalmis[3], a Spiritu Christi praeexistentis inspiratis[4], sed etiam in libris historicis[5] ubique Jesum Christum sese annuntiantem subaudit, atque miras allegorias, praesertim cap. V—XI, cumulat[6], easque partim adeo nugatorias, ut ipse ille, qui propter eloquentiae ardorem ab apostolis בר נבואה est appellatus, esse nequeat.

Longissime a tanta Veteris Testamenti veneratione epistolae Ignatii et Polycarpi distare videntur. **Polycarpus** enim

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κολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται, συνεπιμαρτυροῦντες τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νενομοθετημένοις.

1 C. XLV, p. 92 (ed. Hef. p. 114. ed. Hilgf. I, p. 47).

2 C. VI, p. 10 (ed. Hef. p. 12. ed. Hilgf. II, p. 18): *Εὐλογητὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν.* C. IX, p. 20 (ed. Hef. p. 22. ed. Hilgf. II, p. 30): *Οἶδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν.*

3 Affert Ps. XVIII, 45 his verbis: *λέγει ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ* (c. IX, p. 18. ed. Hef. p. 20. ed. Hilgf. II, p. 26), et Ps. I, 3 – 6 sic: *καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγει* (c. XI, p. 26. ed Hef. p. 28. ed. Hilgf. II, p. 36).

4 C. V, p. LXVI (ed. Hilgf. II, p. 12): *οἱ προφῆται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες τὴν χάριν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπροφήτευσαν.*

5 Cfr. *Diestelium*, *Geschichte des alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche*, p. 31.

6 Notissima est ridicula illa trecentorum duodeviginti Abrahami servorum allegorica interpretatio, quae in cap. IX (sub finem) exstat.

7 De authentia brevioris septem epistolarum Ignatianarum recensionis et epistolae Polycarpi infra pauca adnotabimus,

plurima quidem Christi et apostolorum verba contexit, sed Vetus Testamentum nunquam solemniter allegat. **Ignatius** vero quamquam duos Veteris Testamenti locos (Prov. III, 31. XVIII, 17) formulis *ὡς γέγραπται* et *γέγραπται γάρ* adducit[1], impugnat tamen Judaizantes istos, qui, omnibus evangelii doctrinis e Vetere Testamento fidem asserendam esse dictitantes, Christi incarnationem, passionem, resurrectionem a prophetis praenuntiari negent, quibus quidem objicit, veritatem evangelii suamet ipsius natura et praestantia satis superque probari et firmari.[2] At temere inde concluseris, illustrissimos illos patres divinam Veteris Testamenti dignitatem non agnovisse. Nam *Ignatius* prophetas nuncupat divinissimos (*οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι προφῆται κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔζησαν*)[3] et admonet christianos, ut illos i. e. libros eorum diligant, quippe qui Christum Jesum annuntiaverint. *Καὶ τοὺς προφήτας*, inquit, *δὲ ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν. ἐν ᾧ καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν ἑνότητι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὄντες ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυ-*

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1 *Ad Ephes.* c. V, p. 124 (ed. Hef. p. 156). *Ad Magnes.* c. XII, p. 150 (ed. Hef. p. 182).

2 *Ad Philad.* c. VIII, p. 180. 182 (ed. Hef. p. 216. 218): *Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν πράσσειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν. Ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις* (h. e. in Vetere Testamento) *εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς, ὅτι γέγραπται, ἀπεκρίθησάν μοι, ὅτι πρόκειται* (h. e. demonstratum est, jam tibi fidem habemus). *Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχαῖά ἐστιν Χριστὸς, τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχαῖα, ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ* h. e. mihi non e Vetere Testamento, sed ex ipsa doctrinae christianae indole et natura certissima de ejus veritate fides atque persuasio oritur; argumenta invicta, quae vos e Vetere Testamento repetitis, ego ipsi doctrinae christianae insita invenio. Cfr. *Crednerum*, De librorum N. T. inspiratione quid statuerint christiani ante saeculum tertium medium. Dissertatio I, p. 13. *Ejusdem Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften.* I, p. 15 sq.

3 *Ad Magnes.* c. VIII, p. 146 (ed. Hef. p. 179).

ρημένοι καὶ συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.[1] Similiter *Polycarpus* adhortatur Philippenses, ut prophetis non minus quam Christo et apostolis obediant: *οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελισάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.*[2]

At nullus patrum apostolicorum certam doctrinam de inspiratione librorum sacrorum nobis proponit. Neque id mirum. Primum enim patres apostolici auctoritate Domini et apostolorum commoti Vetus Testamentum tamquam Novi praedictionem et praeparationem amplexi sunt, non ita curantes, ut ejus fidei rationem sibi redderent; deinde non opus erat divinam Veteris Testamenti originem comprobare et defendere, quoniam ii, ad quos scribebant, tanti quanti ipsi Scripturam aestimabant.

Difficilior quaestio est, *utrum patres apostolici libros quoque apocryphos tamquam divinos allegent.* Concedimus, patres aliquoties scriptorum illorum versioni Alexandrinae additorum rationem habere[3], negamus ea ab ipsis solemnibus formulis laudari. Nam apparet potius Jes. III, 9 (sec. LXX) quam Sap. II, 12 allegari his capitis VI ep. Barnabae verbis: *Λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ· οὐαὶ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῶν, ὅτι βεβούλευνται βουλὴν πονηρὰν καθ' ἑαυτῶν, εἰπόντες· δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστιν.* Tametsi vero probari posset, patres priscae ecclesiae, qui solummodo versione Alexandrina utebantur, libris istis divinam originem tribuisse, num pontificii libros canonicos et apocryphos aequiparantes inde justificantur? Minime; quodsi testimonio ecclesiae primaevae tanta

1 *Ad Philad.* c. V, p. 178 (ed. Hef. p. 214).
2 C. VI, p. 384 (ed. Hef. p. 264).
3 Cfr. indices locorum Scripturae sacrae editioni Dresselianae et Hefelianae additos.

auctoritas assignanda est, quidni illos quoque libros latiori sensu apocryphos recipiunt, quos patres apostolicos scripturis sacris annumerare negari nequit? *Barnabas* enim locum e quarto libro Esrae (IV, 5: ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ) affert cum formula λέγει ὁ κύριος[1] et librum Henochi tamquam scripturam sacram laudat: τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον [γέγραπται] ἤγγικεν περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.[2] *Wieselerus*[3] quidem istud περὶ οὗ γέγραπται non ad librum Henochi, sed ad ea, quae liber Danielis (IX, 24. 27)[4] de offendiculo consummato habet, spectare, verba vero ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει ad ἤγγικεν pertinere contendit, quoniam si aliter res se haberet non ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει, sed ἐν Ἐνὼχ scribendum fuisset. At si vera esset haec Wieseleri sententia, quidni Barnabas scripsit: τὸ τέλειον σκάνδαλον, περὶ οὗ γέγραπται, ἤγγικεν, ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει? Praeferenda igitur est interpretatio a *Muellero*[5] defensa, quae περὶ οὗ γέγραπται et ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει ad idem refert, ut alterum altero accuratius definiatur. Librum Henochi allegari putamus his quoque Barnabae verbis: λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν, παραδώσει κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.[6] Multi quidem interpretes hic locum quendam Veteris Testamenti, sive Jer. XXV, 36 sive Jes. V, 5, afferri existimarunt. Sed ibi neque ovile neque turris comme-

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1 C. XII, p. 28 (ed. Hef. p. 30. ed. Hilgf. II, p. 38).

2 C. IV, p. LXV (ed. Hilgf. II, p. 8).

3 *Der Brief des Barnabas. Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.* 1870. p. 608 sq.

4 Versio latina habet: Consummata enim tentatio, de qua scriptum est, sicut Daniel dicit, adpropinquavit. Cfr. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Der Brief des Barnabas in altlateinischer Uebersetzung. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.* p. 262 sqq.

5 *Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes. Ein Anhang zu de Wette's exegetischem Handbuch zum N. T.* 1869. p. 99.

6 C. XVI, p. 36 (ed. Hef. p. 42. Hilgf. II, p. 52).

moratur. *Wieselerus*[1] et ipse Veteris Testamenti locum quaerens in Mich. IV, 8 incidit, at ne minima quidem similitudo intercedit inter verba Michae et Barnabae. Recte igitur judicaverunt *Hilgenfeldus*[2], *Weizsaeckerus*[3], *Muellerus*[4], etiam haec verba e libro Henochi esse desumpta[5]. Accedit quod *Clemens Romanus* ex Assumtione Mosis verbum Mosis (*καὶ πάλιν λέγει* sc. *Μωϋσῆς*) affert: *ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι ἀτμὶς ἀπὸ κύθρας*[6], et *Pastor Hermae*, quamquam ipse vaticinans parcissime Vetere Testamento utitur, prophetiam tamen Heldadi et Modadi commemorat.[7] Unde apparet, ecclesiam primaevam non recusasse libros latissimo sensu apocryphos tamquam divino instinctu conscriptos agnoscere et in usum suum conferre. Sed inde concludi nequit, eundem honorem iis libris, quos versio Alexandrina scripturis canonicis annectit, tributum esse. Nam illi libri prophetica sua indole, quae his deest, tantam auctoritatem nacti sunt.

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1 L. c.

2 Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum. II, p. 77.

3 *Zur Kritik des Barnabasbriefes aus dem Codex Sinaiticus.* 1863. p. 26.

4 L. c. p. 326.

5 Legimus ibi (c. LXXXIX) haecce verba, quae versione *Dillmanniana* utentes apponimus: „54. *Und ich sah den Herrn der Schafe, wie er viele Niederlagen über sie brachte.* 55. *Und er überliess sie in der Hand des Löwen.* 56. *Und ich sah, dass er jenes ihr Haus und ihren Thurm verliess, und sie alle in die Hand des Löwen gab, um sie zu zerreissen, und zu fressen, in die Hand aller wilden Thiere.* 67. *Und sie verbrannten jenen Thurm und zerstreuten jenes Haus.*"

6 I *Cor.* XVII, p. 61 (ed. Hef. p. 78 ed. Hilgf. I, p. 23).

7 *Vis.* II, 4, ed. Hilgf. III, p. 11: *Ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφομένοις, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ, τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ.*

II. Apologetarum sententiae.[1]

Apologetarum libri, quos adhibebimus, hi sunt:

Justini Martyris 1) *Apologia major* vel *prior* (*Ἀπολογία πρώτη ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν*), secundum plerosque ao. 138 vel 139 conscripta. 2) *Apologia minor* vel *altera* (*Ἀπολογία δευτέρα ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν*), quae Marco Aurelio et Lucio Vero regnantibus h. e. intra annos 161—166 exarata est et ab eodem quidem Justino, ut et forma ejus et materia comprobat. 3) *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo* (*Πρὸς Τρύφωνα Ἰουδαῖον διάλογος*), non multo post annum 139 compositus. 4) *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (*Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*), quam non differe ab illo *Ἐλέγχῳ*, apud Eusebium[2], Hieronymum[3], Photium[4] in indicibus librorum Justini commemorato, *Semischius*[5] et *Otto*[6] extra omnem dubitationem collocasse mihi videntur.

Tatiani *Oratio ad Graecos* (*πρὸς Ἕλληνας*), non multo post Justini mortem (c. an. 166) exarata.

Athenagorae 1) *Supplicatio pro Christianis* (*Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν*), post annum 176 conscripta. 2) Liber *de resurrectione mortuorum* (*περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*).

Theophili Antiocheni *tres libri ad Autolycum* (*πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον*), c. an. 180 compositi.

Si quis vel obiter libros apologetarum inspexerit, eum non fugiet, certas quasdam de divina Scripturae sacrae indole

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1 Editionem librorum apologetarum ab *Ottone* curatam et priorem quidem sequemur.

2 *Hist. eccles.* IV, 18. T. I, p. 376 (ed. Heinichenius).

3 *De vir. illustr.* c. 23. T. II, p. 853 (ed. Vallarsius).

4 *Biblioth. cod.* 125. T. I, p. 94 sq. (ed. Bekkerus).

5 *Justin der Märtyrer.* 1840. I, p. 105 sqq.

6 De Justini Martyris scriptis et doctrina. Jenae 1841. p. 38 sqq.

sententias, quas in scriptis patrum apostolicorum desideravimus, hic nobis occurrere. Una et proxima quidem hujus progressus causa est finis librorum illorum apologeticus, at non unica. Imo considerandum est, fidem quam apologetae Scripturae habent non aliena auctoritate, sed ipsorum spirituali experientia nixam esse. *Justinus Martyr* initio Dialogi cum Tryphone Judaeo (c. II sqq.) ad superiorem ipsius aetatem respiciens narrat[1], sese scholas Stoicorum, Peripateticorum, Pythagoreorum, postremo Platonicorum integrae veritatis cupidissimum adiisse, sed de ea invenienda desperaturum fuisse, nisi venerabilis ille senex ipsi procul a turba hominum ad solitarium maris litus quaestiones philosophicas pensitanti prophetas Veteris Testamenti ostendisset et desiderium animi sui explevisset. Similia etiam *Tatianus* et *Theophilus* de se referunt[2], et omnes omnino apologetas eadem fere via ad veritatis diu frustra appetitae cognitionem pervenisse inde merito concluditur, quod omnes sapientiae gentilis accuratam notitiam habent. Quid ergo mirum, quod divinam Scripturae originem non solum fide tenent, sed etiam hanc fidem argumentis fulciunt et Scripturam tamquam infallibilem totius veritatis fontem omnisque certitudinis fundamentum grato erga Deum animo contra gentiles defendunt?[3]

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[1] Nihil nos cogit, ut cum *Crednero* (*Beiträge* I, p. 95) hanc narrationem pro commenticia habeamus. Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. I, p. 15 sqq.

[2] *Oratio ad Gr.* c. 28. 29, p. 112 sqq. *Ad Autol.* I, 14, p. 42: *Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἠπίστουν τοῦτο* (sc. *ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν*) *ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νῦν κατανοήσας αὐτὸ πιστεύω, ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν.*

[3] Quantopere de veritatis fundamento apologetae et patres posterioris aetatis inter se dissentiant, neminem latet. *Justinus* dicit: *Τίνι γὰρ ἂν λόγῳ ἀνθρώπῳ σταυρωθέντι ἐπειθόμεθα, ὅτι πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ ἐστί καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπείου γένους ποιήσεται, εἰ μὴ μαρτύρια, πρὶν ἢ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον, κεκηρυγμένα περὶ αὐτοῦ εὕρομεν καὶ οὕτως γενόμενα ὁρῶ-*

Dictitant, gentiles tametsi apud eos scintillulae quaedam veritatis a *λόγῳ σπερματικῷ* profectae inveniantur integram tamen veritatem non habere[1], id quod maxima illa inter sapientes eorum dissensio ostendat[2]; integrae enim veritatis testi-

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μεν (*Apol.* I, 53, p. 240).; *Augustinus* autem: Ego vero evangelio non crederem, *nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas* (*Contra ep. fundamenti* c. V).

[1] *Apol.* II, 13, p. 312: *Ἕκαστος γάρ τις ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ σπερματικοῦ θείου λόγου τὸ συγγενὲς ὁρῶν καλῶς ἐφθέγξατο.... Οἱ γὰρ συγγραφεῖς πάντες διὰ τῆς ἐνούσης ἐμφύτου τοῦ λόγου σπορᾶς ἀμυδρῶς ἐδύναντο ὁρᾶν τὰ πάντα.* — *Apol.* I, 46, p. 230: *Οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες χριστιανοί εἰσι, κἂν ἄθεοι ἐνομίσθησαν, οἷον ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν Σωκράτης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς κτλ.* — *Apol.* II, 10, p. 304: *Ὅσα γὰρ καλῶς ἀεὶ ἐφθέγξαντο καὶ εὗρον οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες ἢ νομοθετήσαντες, κατὰ λόγου μέρος εὑρέσεως καὶ θεωρίας ἐστὶ πονηθέντα αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ πάντα τὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγνώρισαν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστός, καὶ ἐναντία ἑαυτοῖς πολλάκις εἶπον.*

[2] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 7, p. 20: *Τί τοίνυν αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς στασιάζειν, τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν νομισθέντας γεγενῆσθαι σοφούς;* — *Ibid.* p. 32: *ὅλως ἄτακτός τις καὶ ἀσύμφωνος ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς κεκράτηκε δόξα, ἑνὶ μόνῳ τοῖς ὀρθῶς κρίνειν δυναμένοις ἐπαίνου ἀξία φαινομένη, ὅτι πλανωμένους καὶ μὴ τ' ἀληθῆ λέγοντας ἀλλήλους ἐλέγχειν προῄρηνται.* — *Ibid.* c. 8, p. 32: *οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς περὶ θεοσεβείας παρὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων διδασκάλων μανθάνειν ἐστὶ δυνατόν, ἱκανὴν ὑμῖν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀγνοίας διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσεως παρεσχηκότων.* — *Or. ad Gr.* c. 3, p. 16: *Διόπερ μὴ παρασυρέτωσαν ὑμᾶς αἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ οὐ φιλοσόφων πανηγύρεις, οἵτινες ἐναντία μὲν ἑαυτοῖς δογματίζουσιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐπελθὸν ἕκαστος ἐκπεφώνηκε.* — *Ibid.* c. 25, p. 102. 104: *Τοῖς Πλάτωνος ἔπη δόγμασι· καὶ ὁ κατ' Ἐπίκουρον σοφιστεύων διαπρύσιος ἀνθίσταταί σοι. Πάλιν τε εἶναι θέλεις κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην· καί τις κατὰ τὸν Δημόκριτον λοιδορεῖταί σοι...... Στασιώδεις δὲ ἔχοντες τῶν δογμάτων τὰς διαδοχὰς ἀσύμφωνοι πρὸς τοὺς συμφώνους ἑαυτοῖς διαμάχεσθε.* — *Suppl. pr. Chr.* c. 7, p. 34. 36: *Ποιηταὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπέβαλον* (sc. *τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ θείου*) *στοχαστικῶς, κινηθέντες μὲν κατὰ συμπάθειαν τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνοῆς ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ ψυχῆς ἕκαστος ζητῆσαι, εἰ δυνατὸς εὑρεῖν καὶ νοῆσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· τοσοῦτον δὲ δυνηθέντες ὅσον περινοῆσαι οὐχ εὕρηνται, ὡς οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ περὶ θεοῦ ἀξιώσαντες μαθεῖν ἀλλὰ παρ' αὑτοῦ ἕκαστος· διὸ καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλως ἐδογμάτισεν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ ὕλης καὶ περὶ εἰδῶν καὶ περὶ κόσμου.*

monium esse cogitationum harmoniam[1], quae quidem apud Veteris Testamenti scriptores reperiatur mirum in modum. Hos quasi uno ore linguaque una de Deo, de mundi origine, de hominis creatione, de animae humanae immortalitate, de futuro post hanc vitam judicio, de omnibus rebus, quarum cognitio nobis necessaria sit, summa secum ipsis constantia et inter se consensione locutos esse, idque quamvis variis locis et temporibus divinam nobis doctrinam tradiderint.[2] Atque hanc Scripturae sacrae harmoniam Justinus tantopere urget, ut Tryphoni Judaeo testetur, Scripturam secum pugnare nunquam vel concipere vel dicere ausurum se esse, sed si quis proponatur Scripturae locus, qui alteri contrarius esse videatur, se confessurum potius esse, ipsum non intelligere quae dicantur, et iis, qui Scripturam secum pugnare suspicentur, ut idem cum ipso sentiant, persuadere conaturum esse.[3] Qua ex admiranda Scripturae sacrae harmonia concludunt apologetae, prophetas veram Dei cognitionem habere utpote divinitus afflatos.[4]

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1 *Apol.* I, 44, p. 224. 226: *Παρὰ πᾶσι σπέρματα ἀληθείας δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἐλέγχονται δὲ μὴ ἀκριβῶς νοήσαντες, ὅταν ἐναντία αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς λέγωσιν.*

2 *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 8, p. 32: *ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς γλώττης καὶ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ κόσμου κτίσεως καὶ περὶ πλάσεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ τῆς μετα τὸν βίον τοῦτον μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι κρίσεως καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἀκολούθως καὶ συμφώνως ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν διαφόροις τόποις τε καὶ χρόνοις τὴν θείαν ἡμῖν διδασκαλίαν παρεσχηκότες.* — *Ad Autol.* II, 9, p. 78: *Καὶ οὐχ εἷς ἢ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονες κατὰ χρόνους καὶ καιροὺς ἐγενήθησαν παρὰ Ἑβραίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ἕλλησιν Σίβυλλα· καὶ πάντες φίλα ἀλλήλοις καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρήκασιν.* II, 35, p. 162: *Καὶ τί μοι τὸ πλῆθος καταλέγειν τῶν προφητῶν, πολλῶν ὄντων καὶ μυρία φίλα καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρηκότων.*

3 *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 65, p. 218: *Οὐ τολμήσω τοῦτό* (scl. *ἐναντίας εἶναι τὰς γραφὰς ἀλλήλαις*) *ποτε ἢ ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἢ εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τοιαύτη τις δοκοῦσα εἶναι γραφὴ προβληθῇ καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχῃ ὡς ἐναντία οὖσα, ἐκ παντὸς πεπεισμένος, ὅτι οὐδεμία γραφὴ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ἐναντία ἐστίν, αὐτὸς μὴ νοεῖν μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσω τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίας τὰς γραφὰς ὑπολαμβάνοντας τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ πεῖσαι ἀγωνίσομαι.*

4 *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 8, p. 32: *Οὔτε γὰρ φύσει οὔτ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐννοίᾳ*

Aliud inspirationis Scripturae argumentum apologetae e vaticiniis repetunt. Imprimis Justinus, qui hoc argumentum *μεγίστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην ἀπόδειξιν* nominat[1], Vetus Testamentum certissimis ac specialissimis refertum esse inculcat vaticiniis, quae maxima ex parte in historia Domini et ecclesiae jamjam impleta sint. In prophetarum libris dicit ante oculos nobis pingi Jesum Christum advenientem, e virgine nascentem, ad aetatem virilem pervenientem, morbos omnes aegritudinesque curantem, mortuos ad vitam revocantem, invisum, ignoratum, crucifixum, resurgentem, in coelos ascendentem; praedictum quoque esse eum et fore et vocatum iri filium Dei, et nuntios, qui haec omnia praedicent, ad omne hominum genus missurum atque gentilium majorem numerum quam Judaeorum iis fidem habiturum esse.[2] Et quoniam haec omnia praedicta sint, antequam evenerint, necesse esse credamus etiam reliqua, quae praedicta sint, aliquando eventura.[3] Quia autem vim vaticinandi apologetae uti universa antiquitas

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οὔτω μεγάλα καὶ θεῖα γινώσκειν ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας τηνικαῦτα κατελθούσῃ δωρεᾷ. — *Ad Autol.* c. 9, p. 76. 78: *χωρήσαντες σοφίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ, δι' ἧς σοφίας εἶπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων.*

1 *Apol.* I, 30, p. 200: *τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἤδη ποιησόμεθα, οὐ τοῖς λέγουσι πιστεύοντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς προφητεύουσι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην πειθόμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ ὄψει ὡς προεφητεύθη ὁρᾶν γενόμενα καὶ γινόμενα, ἥπερ μεγίστη καὶ ἀληθεστάτη ἀπόδειξις καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς νομίζομεν, φανήσεται.* — *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 7, p. 32: *τὰ δὲ ἀποβάντα καὶ ἀποβαίνοντα ἐξαναγκάζει συντίθεσθαι τοῖς λελαλημένοις δι' αὐτῶν.*

2 *Apol.* I, 31, p. 202.

3 *Apol.* I, 52, p. 238: *Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὰ γενόμενα ἤδη πάντα ἀποδείκνυμεν πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι προκεκηρύχθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀνάγκη καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμοίως προφητευθέντων, μελλόντων δὲ γίνεσθαι, πίστιν ἔχειν ὡς πάντως γενησομένων.* — *Ad Autol.* II, 9, p. 78: *εἰρήκασιν τά τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς γεγονότα καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς νυνὶ τελειούμενα· διὸ καὶ πεπείσμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὕτως ἔσεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπήρτισται.*

praecipuum Dei donum esse existimabant[1], per se intelligitur, eos prophetas, qui vaticinia illa scripserant, a Spiritu divino sive a Logo instinctos credidisse.[2]

Hac duplici via apologetae perveniunt ad divinam originem librorum Veteris Testamenti. Neque est cur haec argumenta repudiemus. Non enim hoc sibi volunt apologetae, Scripturam sacram vel in levissimis quibuscunque rebus historicis sibi constare, sed id tantum dicunt, Scripturae, quamvis diversissimis et locis et temporibus ortae, perfectum esse consensum in rebus ad religionem et salutarem veritatem pertinentibus — quae quidem contemplatio non solum ad fidem divinae originis Scripturae, sed etiam ad vere theologicam ejus tractationem perducit, dummodo non minus quam consensus Scriptu-

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[1] *Apol.* I, 12, p. 162: *θεοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι, εἰπεῖν καὶ οὕτως δειχθῆναι γενόμενον, ὡς προείρηται.* — *Or. ad Gr.* c. 29, p. 114: *Περινοοῦντι δέ μοι τὰ σπουδαῖα συνέβη γραφαῖς τισιν ἐντυχεῖν βαρβαρικαῖς, πρεσβυτέραις μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων δόγματα, θειοτέραις δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων πλάνην· καί μοι πεισθῆναι ταύταις συνέβη διά τε τῶν λέξεων τὸ ἄτυφον .... καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὸ προγνωστικόν.* — *Suppl. pro Chr.* c. 7, p. 36. Cfr. *Tertullianum*, *De pudicitia* c. 21 (ed. Oehlerus T. I, p. 842): Exhibe mihi prophetica exempla, ut agnoscam divinitatem. *Originem*, *Contra Celsum* VI, 10 (ed. de la Rue T. I, p. 637): *Τὸ γὰρ χαρακτηρίζον τὴν θεότητα ἡ περὶ μελλόντων ἐστὶν ἀπαγγελία — — ὅτι θεῖον πνεῦμα ἦν τὸ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλον.* *Clementem Alexandrinum*, *Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας* c. 8 (ed. Potterus p. 65): *Οἱ χρησμοὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς ἐνεργεστάτας προτείνοντες θεμελιοῦσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.*

[2] *Apol.* I, 33, p. 206: *Ἃ γὰρ ἦν ἄπιστα καὶ ἀδύνατα νομιζόμενα παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς προεμήνυσε διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος μέλλειν γενέσθαι, ἵν' ὅταν γένηται μὴ ἀπιστηθῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ προειρῆσθαι πιστευθῇ.* — Quantum apologetae vaticiniis tribuerint, etiam inde cognoscitur, quod in eorum quoque scriptis nunquam libri versioni Alexandrinae additi allegantur, at libri pseudoprophetici, *vaticinia Sibyllina* et *Hystaspis* pro inspiratis habentur et propheticis Veteris Testamenti scripturis aequiparantur. Cfr. *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 37. 38, p. 102 sqq. *Apol.* I, 20, p. 180: *Καὶ Σίβυλλα δὲ καὶ Ὑστάσπης γενήσεσθαι τῶν φθαρτῶν ἀνάλωσιν διὰ πυρὸς ἔφασαν.* *Ibid.* c. 44, p. 226: *Κατ' ἐνέργειαν δὲ τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων θάνατος ὡρίσθη κατὰ τῶν τὰς Ὑστάσπου ἢ Σιβύλλης*

rae etiam progressus revelationis in ea consignatae consideretur.

Nunc investigaturi, *quid apologetae de actu inspirationis statuerint*[1], etiam hac de re eos nos non plane in incerto relicturos esse merito exspectamus. Suspicandum est, apologetas omnia Deo tamquam unico librorum propheticorum auctori tributuros et personarum nullam rationem habituros esse, quoniam libros illos sapientiae gentilium sibi dissentienti ut non fallentem totius veritatis codicem opponunt. Quod autem suspicamur apologiae eorum satis confirmant. In universum quidem hoc tantum dicunt, prophetas divino Logo vel Spiritu latos[2], sive divino Logo commotos[3], sive a Deo inspiratos et divina sapientia impletos fuisse[4], locutosque esse in Spiritu sancto[5] et afflante eo scripsisse.[6] Accuratius vero

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ἡ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλους ἀναγινωσκόντων. — *Suppl. pro Chr.* c. 30, p. 156. — *Ad Autol.* II, 38, p. 182: *Σίβυλλα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται.*

1 Cfr. ad ea quae sequuntur *Crednerum*, De librorum N. T. inspiratione quid statuerint christiani ante saeculum tertium medium. Dissertatio I, p. 28—53. *Ejusdem Beiträge* I, p. 108—125. *Ottonem*, De Justini Martyris scriptis et doctrina, p. 114—120. *Semischium*, *Justin der Märtyrer.* II, p. 12—22.

2 *Apol.* I, 33, p. 208: *Ὅτι δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ θεοφοροῦνται οἱ προφητεύοντες εἰ μὴ λόγῳ θείῳ, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνω, φήσετε.*

3 *Apol.* I, 36, p. 212: *τὰς λέξεις τῶν προφητῶν .... λέγεσθαι νομίσητε .... ἀπὸ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς θείου λόγου.*

4 *Ad Autol.* II, 9, p. 26: *Οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι, ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντες καὶ σοφισθέντες ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι καὶ ὅσιοι καὶ δίκαιοι.*

5 *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 7, p. 30: *Ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι, μακάριοι καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίσαντες.* — *Ad Autol.* I, 14, p. 42: *ἠπίστουν τοῦτο ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νῦν κατανοήσας αὐτὰ πιστεύω, ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν, οἳ καὶ προεῖπον διὰ πνεύματος θεοῦ τὰ προγεγονότα, ᾧ τρόπῳ γέγονε, καὶ τὰ ἐνεστῶτα, τίνι τρόπῳ γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα, ποίᾳ τάξει ἀπαρτισθήσεται.*

6 *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 12, p. 42: *μόνον ἡ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως προϋ-*

rationem inspirationis definiens *Justinus* contendit, nunquam eos suas cogitationes, semper autem, quae Deus iis aperuerit, pronuntiasse[1]; ubicunque propheta non e Dei ipsius persona loquatur, sed ut propheta futura praedicat, verba non huic homini sed ipsi divino Logo attribuenda esse. *Ὅταν δὲ*, inquit, *τὰς λέξεις τῶν προφητῶν λεγομένας ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου ἀκούσητε, μὴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμπεπνευσμένων λέγεσθαι νομίσητε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κινοῦντος αὐτοὺς θείου λόγου. Ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ὡς προαγγελτικῶς τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι λέγει, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ δεσπότου πάντων καὶ πατρὸς θεοῦ φθέγγεται, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου λαῶν ἀποκρινομένων τῷ κυρίῳ ἢ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ὁποῖον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν συγγραφέων ἰδεῖν ἐστιν, ἕνα μὲν τὸν τὰ πάντα συγγράφοντα ὄντα, πρόσωπα δὲ τὰ διαλεγόμενα παραφέροντα.*[2] Quamobrem scripta prophetica ita allegat, quasi Deus tantum in iis loquatur: *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 16, p. 58: *διὸ καὶ ἐμβοᾷ ὑμῖν θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἠσαΐου λέγων.* c. 22, p. 72: *λέγει διὰ Ἀμὼς ἑνὸς τῶν δώδεκα βοῶν.* c. 25, p. 82: *διὰ τοῦ Ἠσαΐου βοᾷ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.* c. 34, p. 108: *καὶ ἄλλου ψαλμοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰρημένου ἀναμνήσομαι.* c. 37, p. 122: *καὶ ἐν ἐνενηκοστῷ ὀνειδίζει ὑμᾶς τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον.* c. 133, p. 438: *διὰ*

πῆρχεν ἱστορία, ἣν ἐκ θείας ἐπιπνοίας Μωϋσῆς γέγραφε τοῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμμασι.

1 *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 10, p. 38. 40: *Τούτῳ (Μωσεΐ) πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας θείαν καὶ προφητικὴν τηνικαῦτα κατιοῦσαν παρέσχε δωρεάν, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς θεοσεβείας ἡμῶν διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν· εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς προφήτας, τοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ τυχόντας δωρεᾶς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διδάξαντας ἡμᾶς. Τούτους ἡμεῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας διδασκάλους γεγενῆσθαί φαμεν, μηδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης αὐτῶν διανοίας διδάξαντας ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἄνωθεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ θεοῦ δοθείσης δωρεᾶς.*

2 *Apol.* I, 36, p. 212.

γὰρ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠσαΐου προεπιστάμενος ὁ θεός, ὅτι ταῦτα μέλλει ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν, κατηράσατο οὕτως. Apol. I, c. 41, p. 220: *καὶ πάλιν δι' ἄλλης προφητείας μηνύον τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δαβὶδ εἶπεν.* c. 63, p. 262: *τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα διὰ Ἠσαΐου προφήτου ἐλέγχον αὐτοὺς εἶπεν.* Unum tantum locum invenire nobis contigit, quo Justinus etiam personae prophetarum rationem habere videtur: *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 118, p. 392, ubi Jes. LII, 15. LIII, 1 ita affert: *Τοῦτο θαυμάζων Ἠσαΐας ἔφη.* Sed hic quoque considerandum est, prophetam solummodo videri e persona sua loqui, revera Logon loqui per eum. Tam severe Justinum de inspiratione sentire etiam inde cognoscitur, quod fabulae de miraculosa versionis Alexandrinae origine fidem habet eamque ingenue et simpliciter narrat.[1] Repetit Ptolemaeum, postquam cognoverit septuaginta illos interpretes quamquam in singulas cellas inclusos non solum eadem sententia, sed etiam iisdem verbis usos esse ac ne una quidem vocula a mutuo consensu aberrasse, imo eadem iisdem de rebus scripsisse, stupore perculsum ac de divina ejus translationis origine firmiter persuasum esse, quare interpretes Deo caros et summo honore dignos judicaverit, libros autem eorum ut divinos loco sancto reposuerit.

Sed etiam ceteri apologetae Scripturam sacram pro Verbo strictissime divino habent. *Tatianus,* qui semel tantum locum Veteris Testamenti (Ps. VIII, 5) adhibet (c. 15), Scripturas oracula divinissima (*θειοτάτας ἑρμηνείας, διὰ γραφῆς ἐξεληλεγμένας*) et divinae pronuntiationis sermones (*θείας ἐκφωνήσεως λόγους*) nuncupat.[2] *Theophilus* autem instrumenta Dei h. e.

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[1] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 13, p. 44 sqq.

[2] *Or. ad Gr.* c. 12, p. 54: *Τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα δυνατὸν κατανοῆσαι τῷ μὴ κενοδόξως ἀποσκορακίζοντι τὰς θειοτάτας ἑρμηνείας, αἳ κατὰ χρόνον διὰ γραφῆς ἐξεληλεγμέναι πάνυ θεοφιλεῖς τοὺς προσέχοντας αὐταῖς πεποιήκασιν. Ibid.*, p. 56: *Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῶν λεγόντων οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώττης οὐδὲ*

prophetas[1] mere passive in actu inspirationis se habere indicat primum Geneseos versum ita allegans: *Μωσῆς δὲ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς δι' ὀργάνου δι' αὐτοῦ φησιν.*[2]

Ea quae adhuc protulimus non nisi mechanicam, ut ita dicam, inspirationem h. e. suggestionem rerum et verborum docere videntur. At *mantica quoque inspirationis notio in libris apologetarum nobis occurrit.* Nam *Justinus Martyr* et *Athenagoras* illustrissimis illis locis, quibus statum prophetarum depingunt, ipsos comparant cum instrumentis torpentibus impotibusque mentis atque asseverant, illis in actu inspirationis nihil opus fuisse nisi puros se ipsos Spiritus operationi praebere, ut divinum illud plectrum, hominibus sanctis utens tamquam citharis vel lyris, divinarum nobis et coelestium rerum cognitionem recluderet. *Οὔτε γὰρ φύσει*, ait *Justinus, οὔτ' ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἐννοίᾳ οὕτω μεγάλα καὶ θεῖα γινώσκειν ἀνθρώποις δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας τηνικαῦτα κατελθούσῃ δωρεᾷ, οἷς οὐ λόγων ἐδέησε τέχνης οὐδὲ τοῦ ἐριστικῶς τι καὶ φιλονείκως εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθαροὺς ἑαυτοὺς τῇ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος παρασχεῖν ἐνεργείᾳ, ἵν' αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατιὸν πλῆκτρον, ὥσπερ ὀργάνῳ κιθάρας τινὸς ἢ λύρας τοῖς δικαίοις ἀνδράσι χρώμενον, τὴν τῶν θείων ἡμῖν καὶ οὐρανίων ἀποκαλύψῃ γνῶσιν.*[3] *Athenagoras* vero fallacibus et inter se pugnantibus poetarum et philosophorum gentilium sententiis firmissima prophetarum

ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἐννοιῶν, συντάξεώς τε σοφιστικῆς, θειοτέρας δέ τινος ἐκφωνήσεως λόγοις καταχρωμένων, οἱ βουλόμενοι μανθάνειν σπεύσατε.

[1] *Ad Autol.* II, 9, p. 28: *κατηξιώθησαν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν, ὄργανα θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ χωρήσαντες σοφίαν τὴν παρὰ θεοῦ, δι' ἧς σοφίας εἶπον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων.* Cfr. II, 33, p. 130: *ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου διδασκόμεθα, τοῦ λαλήσαντος ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις προφήταις καὶ τὰ πάντα προκαταγγέλλοντος.*

[2] *Ad Autol.* II, 10, p. 82.

[3] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 8, p. 32.

testimonia ita opponit: *Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧν νοοῦμεν καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἔχομεν προφήτας μάρτυρας, οἳ πνεύματι ἐνθέῳ ἐκπεφωνήκασι καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. Εἴποιτε δ' ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, συνέσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸ ὄντως θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ τοὺς ἄλλους προὔχοντες, ὡς ἔστιν ἄλογον παραλιπόντας πιστεύειν τῷ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματι, ὡς ὄργανα κεκινηκότι τὰ τῶν προφητῶν στόματα, προσέχειν δόξαις ἀνθρωπίναις.*[1] Fuerunt quidem, qui hac quoque imagine prophetis solummodo omnem cooperationem ad revelationes sive formaliter sive materialiter conformandas, minime vero propriam mentem propriamve voluntatem abjudicari opinarentur.[2] At vix recte.

Primum enim significat imago illa Philonea (cf. locos supra laudatos) inspirationem manticam. *Justinus* autem testatur, non ignotos sibi esse Philonis *τοῦ σοφωτάτου* libros.[3]

Deinde diserte contendit *Athenagoras* alio loco, quo eadem imagine utitur, omnes prophetas *in ecstasi* impulsu Spiritus divini quae ipsis inspirarentur locutos esse. *Ἐπεὶ δέ*, inquit, *αἱ φωναὶ τῶν προφητῶν πιστοῦσιν ἡμῶν τοὺς λογισμοὺς (νομίζω καὶ ὑμεῖς, φιλομαθεστάτους καὶ ἐπιστημονεστάτους ὄντας, οὐκ ἀνοήτους γεγονέναι, οὔτε τῶν Μωσέως οὔτε τῶν Ἠσαΐου καὶ Ἱερεμίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, οἳ κατ' ἔκστασιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογισμῶν κινήσαντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἃ ἐνηργοῦντο ἐξεφώνησαν, συγχρησαμένου τοῦ πνεύματος ὡσεὶ καὶ αὐλητὴς αὐλὸν ἐμπνεῦσαι), τί οὖν οὗτοι;*[4]

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[1] *Suppl. pro Chr.* c. 7, p. 36.

[2] Cfr. *Rudelbachium* l. c. p. 27. *Meierum*, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.* ed. II a *Gustavo Baurio* curata p. 68.

[3] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 9. 10. 13.

[4] *C.* IX, p. 42. Non minus a Justino statum propheticum omnino ecstaticum putari, *Semischius* (l. c. II, p. 17) etiam loco illo *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 115, p. 382 de visione Sacharjae (III, 1 sqq.) probare conatur: *τὸν διάβολον καὶ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἄγγελον οὐκ αὐτοψίᾳ, ἐν καταστάσει*

Tertio ea, quae de Sibylla furente audiverat, tamquam plena fide digna referens *Justinus* haec addit: *Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὡς χρησμῳδοῦ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν συγγραφέων μέμνηνται, Πλάτων δὲ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοῖς ταύτης χρησμοῖς ἐντυχὼν ὁ Πλάτων τοὺς χρησμῳδοὺς ἐκθειάζειν· ἑώρα γὰρ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῆς παλαὶ προειρημένα ἔργοις πληρούμενα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θαυμάσας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μένωνα λόγῳ, αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἐπαινῶν τοὺς χρησμῳδούς, οὕτω γέγραφεν· Ὀρθῶς ἄρα ἂν καλοῖμεν θείους τε αὐτούς, οὓς δὴ νῦν λέγομεν χρησμῳδούς, οὐχ ἥκιστα φαῖμεν ἂν τούτους τε θείους εἶναι καὶ ἐνθουσιάζειν ἐπίπνους ὄντας καὶ κατεχομένους ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅταν κατορθῶσι λέγοντες πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲν εἰδότες ὧν λέγουσι· σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς εἰς τοὺς Σιβύλλης ἀφορῶν χρησμούς.*[1] His verbis Justinum probare sententiam Platonicam, secundum quam vates divinitus afflati quid pronuntient nesciunt, haud difficulter subauditur, praesertim quum alibi quoque ad Platonem provocet ejusque doctrinam non adeo differre a Christi praeceptis demonstret.[2]

ὤν, ἑωράκει, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκστάσει, ἀποκαλύψεως αὐτῷ γεγενημένης. At opponi potest, eum qui statum Sacharjae visum illud accipientis ecstasin nominet, non ideo statum prophetarum omnino ecstaticum existimare; nam verba *ἀποκαλύψεως αὐτῷ γεγενημένης* comprobant tantum, ea quae vidit Sacharja spiritualibus oculis (*ἐν ἐκστάσει*) visa esse; utrum vero Justinus omnis revelationis modum ecstasin habeat, in incerto relinquunt. Quamobrem hunc locum pro testimonio non attulimus.

1 *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 37, p. 104 sqq.

2 *Apol.* II, 13, p. 312: *οὐχ ὅτι ἀλλότριά ἐστι τὰ Πλάτωνος διδάγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Christianos dicit *Justinus* quum a Deo omnia facta et adornata esse doceant Platonicam sententiam proferre videri (*Apol.* I, 20, p. 180: *Τῷ γὰρ λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ θεοῦ πάντα κεκοσμῆσθαι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι Πλάτωνος δόξομεν λέγειν δόγμα*); inter illorum et Platonis de Dei natura opinionem solum articulum differre, quia illi *ὁ ὤν* dicant, hic *τὸ ὄν* (*Coh. ad Gr.* c. 22, p. 64 sqq.: *Τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τοῖς νοεῖν δυναμένοις οὐ δοκεῖ ἓν καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, τῷ ἄρθρῳ μόνον διαλλάττον; Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μωσῆς ὁ ὢν ἔφη, ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τὸ ὄν*); quin etiam eum jam de Trinitate (*Apol.* I, 59. 60, p. 252 sqq.), de resurrectione et futuro judicio disseruisse

Postremo ostendit *Montanismus*, qui ex ecclesia prodiit et initio intra fines ecclesiae sese continuit, manticam inspirationis notionem minime ab ecclesia illius aetatis alienam esse.[1] Movetur, ait *Tertullianus*, anima ab alio, cum vaticinatur, cum furit.[2] *Gratiae convenit ecstasis, id est amentia. In spiritu enim homo constitutus, praesertim quum gloriam Dei conspicit, vel quum per ipsum Deus loquitur, necesse est excidat sensu, obumbratus scilicet virtute divina.*[3] *Montanus* ipse Paracletum ita loquentem facit: Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα, κἀγὼ ἵπταμαι ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον· ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται κἀγὼ γρηγορῶ· ἰδοὺ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκστάνων καρδίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδοὺς καρδίας ἀνθρώποις· ἐφίπταμαι καὶ πλήσσω καὶ γρηγορῶ, καὶ ἐξιστᾷ κύριος καρδίας.[4] Tam mira profecto similitudo intercedit inter haec Paracleti et illa apologetarum verba, ut apologetas a partibus Montanistarum stare conjici posset, nisi in libris eorum omne vestigium doctrinae Montanistarum de Paracleto revelationem continuante et perficiente deesset.[5] Quodsi *Ha-*

(*Coh. ad Gr.* c. 27, p. 80: *Ἐνταῦθά μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πλάτων οὐ μόνον τὸν περὶ κρίσεως παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν μεμαθηκέναι λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀπιστουμένης παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀναστάσεως*).

[1] Cfr. *Schweglerum*, *Der Montanismus und die christliche Kirche.* p. 24 sqq.

[2] *De anima* c. VI (T. II, p. 563. ed. *Oehlerus*).

[3] *Adv. Marc.* IV, 22. (T. II, p. 216).

[4] *Epiph. Haer.* XLVIII, 4.

[5] Manticam inspirationis notionem illa aetate translaticiam fuisse, *Hilgenfeldus* (*Die clementinischen Recognitionen und Homilien*, p. 210) hocce loco Homiliarum Pseudo-Clementinarum comprobat: *εἰ δὲ παραδεξώμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὡς οἱ πολλοί, ὅτι καί ὁ ἀληθὴς προφήτης οὐ πάντοτε, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε, ὅτε ἔχει τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προγινώσκει, ὁπότε δὲ οὐκ ἔχει ἀγνοεῖ, — ἐὰν οὕτως ὑπολάβωμεν, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπατῶμεν καὶ ἄλλους ἐνεδρεύσομεν· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον μανικῶς ἐνθουσιώντων ἐστὶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἀταξίας, τῶν παρὰ βωμοῖς μεθυόντων καὶ κνίσσης ἐμφορουμένων* (*Hom.* III, 13, p. 89. ed. *Schweglerus*). At his verbis doctrina tantum de temporaria prophetarum inspiratione, non mantica inspirationis notio plerisque illius aetatis christianis attribuitur; nam verba *τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον κτλ.* peculiare Pseudoclementinorum ju-

genbachius[1] quaerit, utrum imago illa ab instrumentis desumta prophetas instrumenta mere passiva suique non conscia esse indicet an peculiaris structurae, quae soni sit causa, rationem habeat, nos posterius quidem concedimus, sed ita, ut acusticae instrumenti structurae secundum Tertullianum tantummodo divina natura animae ex Dei afflatu natae[2] et dono divinationis praeditae[3], secundum Philonem et apologetas spiritualis et moralis prophetarum indoles,[4] neutiquam vero aliqua, licet minima, prophetae cooperatio vel suimet ipsius ad Spiritus divini gratiam applicatio respondeat.

His argumentis comprobasse nobis videmur, Justinum et Athenagoram manticam docere inspirationem. Utrum vero ceteri apologetae idem senserint, e scriptis eorum dijudicari nequit; modo suspicamur, *Tatianum,* Justini discipulum[5], ma-

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dicium exhibent. Ita etiam *Tholuckius* (*Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen.* p. 65) hunc locum intelligit.

[1] *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.* ed. V, p. 64.

[2] *De anima* c. 22. 27.

[3] *De anima* c. 24. (T. II, p. 594): Multa documenta divinationem animae probaverunt. Sed nec quisquam hominum non et ipse aliquando praesagam animam suam sentit aut ominis aut periculi aut gaudii augurem. — *Adv. Marc.* II, 9 (T. II, p. 95): In hoc erit imago minor veritate et afflatus spiritu inferior, habens illas utique lineas Dei, qua immortalis anima, qua libera et sui arbitrii, qua praescia plerumque, qua rationalis, capax intellectus et scientiae.

[4] *Quis rer. div. haer.* T. I, p. 510: *Καὶ παντὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀστείῳ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος προφητείαν μαρτυρεῖ.* — *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 7, p. 30: *Ἐγένοντό τινες πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου πάντων τούτων τῶν νομιζομένων φιλοσόφων παλαιότεροι, μακάριοι καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ θεοφιλεῖς, θείῳ πνεύματι λαλήσαντες καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίσαντες, ἃ δὴ νῦν γίνεται· προφήτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν. Οὗτοι μόνοι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἐξεῖπον ἀνθρώποις, μήτ᾽ εὐλαβηθέντες μήτε δυσωπηθέντες τινά, μὴ ἡττημένοι δόξης, ἀλλὰ μόνα ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἃ ἤκουσαν καὶ ἃ εἶδον ἁγίῳ πληρωθέντες πνεύματι.* — *Ad Autol.* II, 9, p. 76: *Οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι .... ἐγένοντο θεοδίδακτοι καὶ ὅσιοι καὶ δίκαιοι. Διὸ καὶ κατηξιώθησαν τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν, ὄργανα θεοῦ γενόμενοι.*

[5] *Cfr. Irenaeum, Adv. haer.* I, 28, p. 259 (ed. *Stierenius*): *Ὃς (Τα-*

gistri hac de re doctrinam non repudiasse. De *Theophilo* autem idem dicere non audemus. Nam non omnes christianos Justino et Athenagorae adstipulatos esse, inde elucet, quod *Miltiades* apologeta, qui eadem aetate florebat, librum *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν* conscripsit[1] ejusque sententiam paulatim a tota ecclesia receptam esse libri patrum satis demonstrant.[2]

Manticam illam inspirationis notionem ex ethnicismo haustam esse jam supra commemoravimus. *Schweglerus* quidem opinatur, tum Philonem tum apologetas et Montanistas eam ex Judaismo mutuatos esse vel potius ex Ebionitismo, cui totam priscam ecclesiam addictam fuisse schola Tubingensis contendit.[3] At *Pseudo-Clementina,* quamquam ab Ebionitismo profecta, rejiciunt Montanismum et quamlibet ecstasin tamquam inspirationem daemoniorum.[4] *Schweglerus* regerit, Pseudo-Clementina tempore nascentis ecclesiae catholicae Mon-

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τιανός) Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γενόμενος, ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνε τοιοῦτον.

1 Cfr. *Eusebium* h. e. V, 17.

2 Cfr. *Tertullianum*, *Adv. Marc.* IV, 22: In spiritu homo constitutus necesse est excidat sensu, *de quo inter nos et Psychicos quaestio est. Hieronymum*, *Praef. in Expos. Iesaj.*: Neque vero, ut Montanus cum insanis feminis somniat, prophetae in ecstasi sunt locuti, ut nescirent, quid loquerentur, et quum alios erudirent, ipsi ignorarent, quid dicerent. *Epiphanium*, *Haer.* XLVIII, 2. 3: *Ὅσα οἱ προφῆται εἰρήκασι, μετὰ συνέσεως παρακολουθοῦντες, μετὰ καταστάσεως λογισμοῦ καὶ παρακολουθήσεως ἐφθέγγοντο. Athanasium*, *Contr. Arian. Orat.* IV: *Μὴ πέσητε εἰς τὴν Φρυγῶν παρανομίαν, τῶν λεγόντων, μὴ εἰδέναι τοὺς προφήτας μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους διακονήσαντας τὸν λόγον, μήτε ἃ ποιοῦσιν μήτε περὶ τίνων ἀπαγγέλλουσιν. Chrysostomum*, *Hom. XXIX in ep. ad Cor.*: *Τοῦτο γὰρ μάντεως ἴδιον τὸ ἐξεστηκέναι, τὸ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένειν, τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι, τὸ ἕλκεσθαι, τὸ σύρεσθαι, ὥσπερ μαινόμενον. Ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διανοίας νηφούσης καὶ σωφρονούσης καταστάσεως καὶ εἰδὼς, ἃ φθέγγεται, φησὶν ἅπαντα· ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως κἀντεῦθεν γνώριζε τὸν μάντιν καὶ τὸν προφήτην.*

3 L. c. p. 78 sqq.

4 *Hom.* XVII, 14, p. 373: *ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι προφήτης ἐστὶν, πληροφορήσας πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἐναργῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων, ἀσφαλῶς πιστευε-*

tanismi reprobatione Ebionitismum in ecclesiam subintroducere voluisse.[1] At si hoc agebant, certe non tam vehementer contra revelationes, quas Paulus acceperat, pugnare debebant, quum hac apostoli gentilium impugnatione proderent, quantopere ipsi et ecclesia catholica dissentirent. Contradicit sibimet ipsi Schwegleri sententia. Quamobrem tenemus, apologetas illos e Platonismo, quem ante conversionem suam veritatis studio adierant et christiani facti tamquam vestibulum religionis christianae magni facere pergebant, manticam inspirationis notionem repetiisse. Non minus nobis constat, radices ecstaseos Montanistarum in ethnicismo, imprimis in enthusiastico illo Cybeles cultu positas esse, qui in Phrygia potissimum florebat et cujus sacerdotio Montanus aliquantum temporis functus esse refertur.[2] Urget quidem *Schweglerus* atrox illud odium, quo Montani asseclae doctrinam vitamque gentilem insectati sint[3]; at hoc facile inde explicari potest, quod proselytae religionem, quam deseruerunt, majori odio habere solent quam ii, qui religioni ab illis electae inde a pueris addicti sunt.

ται ἀληθὴς ὢν προεπιγνωσθείς, καὶ ὡς ὁ μανθάνων θέλει, ἐξετασθεὶς καὶ ἀνακριθεὶς ἀποκρίνεται. ὁ δὲ ὀπτασίᾳ πιστεύων ἢ ὁράματι καὶ ἐνυπνίῳ, ἐπισφαλής ἐστιν. ἀγνοεῖ γὰρ τίνι πιστεύει. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ αὐτὸν ἢ δαίμονα κακὸν εἶναι, ἢ πνεῦμα πλάνον, ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑποκρινόμενον εἶναι ὃ μή ἐστιν. — *Hom.* XVII, 1⁸, p. 377. 379: *τὸ ἀδιδάκτως, ἄνευ ὀπτασίας καὶ ὀνείρων μαθεῖν, ἀποκάλυψίς ἐστιν .... τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν δι' ὀπτασιῶν καὶ ἐνυπνίων δηλωθῆναί τι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκαλύψεως, ἀλλ' ὀργῆς, φαίνεται.* — Haec verba non solum ad Paulum et revelationes, quas accepit, sed etiam ad Montanistas respicere, nos cum *Baurio* (*Die christliche Gnosis.* p. 385), *Schliemanno* (*Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften und der Ebionitismus.* p. 547 sq.), *Schweglero* (l. c. p. 144) contra *Hilgenfeldum* (l. c. p. 302 sq.) tenemus.

[1] L. c. p. 149 sq.

[2] In libro de Trinitate, qui Didymo Alexandrino tribuitur, haec legimus: *Μοντανὸς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος πλέον ἢ μετὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γενόμενος ἱερεὺς πρῶτον εἰδώλου, καὶ οὕτως τὴν τυφλὴν ταύτην εἰσηγησάμενος αἵρεσιν.* — Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 78 sqq. *Neandri Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche.* I, p. 581.

[3] L. c. p. 82.

Restat ut quaeramus, *utrum apologetae mechanicam illam et manticam inspirationem ad scripta tantum vere et proprie prophetica, an ad omnes Veteris Testamenti libros, imprimis historicos pertinere judicent.* Sine dubio Davidem, cujus psalmos imprimis Justinus vaticiniis in Christum resque christianas refertas esse censet, et Proverbiorum, quae saepissime allegant[1], auctorem eodem modo quo prophetas inspiratos habent. Sed utrum historicorum quoque librorum materiam ex revelatione divina derivaverint, difficilius disceptatu videri potest. Ait enim *Justinus Coh. ad Gr.* c. 8, p. 32, homines sanctos efficaciae divinae se tradere debuisse, *ἵνα αὐτὸ τὸ θεῖον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατιὸν πλῆκτρον τὴν τῶν θείων ἡμῖν καὶ οὐρανίων ἀποκαλύψῃ γνῶσιν*; et deinceps addit: *διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς γλώττης καὶ περὶ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ κόσμου κτίσεως καὶ περὶ πλάσεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι κρίσεως καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἀκολούθως καὶ συμφώνως ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδαξαν ἡμᾶς.* Et *Theophilus* similiter *ad Autol.* II, 35, p. 160 scribit: *Ὁρᾶν ἔστι πῶς φίλα καὶ σύμφωνα ἐλάλησαν πάντες οἱ προφῆται, ἑνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι ἐκφωνήσαντες, περί τε μοναρχίας θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ποιήσεως.* Nonne haec verba solummodo ea quae in rebus ad religionem et salutem spectantibus vera sunt, minime vero rerum gestarum descriptionem ad illam inspirationem referre videntur? Concedimus, apologetas

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[1] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 61, p. 202. 204: *Μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι ὁ λόγος τῆς σοφίας, αὐτὸς ὢν οὗτος ὁ θεός, ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθεὶς καὶ λόγος καὶ σοφία καὶ δόξα τοῦ γεννήσαντος ὑπάρχων καὶ διὰ Σολομῶνος φήσαντος ταῦτα* (Prov. VIII, 21—36). *Suppl. pr. Chr.* c. 10, p. 46: *συνᾴδει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα* (Prov. VIII, 22). c. 18, p. 84: *φησὶ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα* (Prov. XXI, 1). *Ad Autol.* II, 38, p. 182: *Καὶ τῶν μὲν προφητῶν Σολομῶν περὶ τῶν τεθνηκότων εἶπεν* (Prov. III, 8).

contra gentiles praecipue mirum illum prophetarum, utpote divinitus edoctorum, consensum de fundamentalibus verae religionis articulis urgere; at negamus, eos historiographiam sacram non ab eadem Spiritus divini efficacia repetere. Nam *primum* sicuti a Philone et Josepho etiam ab apologetis omnes Veteris Testamenti scriptores prophetae nominantur. *Justinus* dicit Mosi primo divinum illud et propheticum donum, quod tum temporis in sanctos homines coelitus descenderit, impertitum esse, ac deinceps ceteris post eum prophetis, qui et idem donum consecuti sint et omnes eadem iisdem de rebus docuerint.[1] Priorem Regum librum allegat tamquam librum a propheta conscriptum.[2] Ceteros vero apologetas hac in re

[1] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 10, p. 38: *Τούτῳ πρῶτον ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας θείαν καὶ προφητικὴν τηνικαῦτα κατιοῦσαν παρέσχε δωρεάν, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς θεοσεβείας ἡμῶν διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν· εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς προφήτας, τοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ τυχόντας δωρεᾶς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διδάξαντας ἡμᾶς.* — *Apol.* I, c. 32, p. 202 Moses *πρῶτος τῶν προφητῶν γενόμενος* dicitur et c. 59, p. 252 *οἱ ἡμέτεροι διδάσκαλοι* idem valet quod *ὁ λόγος ὁ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν.* Quin Justinus sicut Philo vindicat prophetiam omnibus hominibus a Deo vocatis et illuminatis, qui unquam inservierunt divinae voluntati interpretandae tamquam duces et praenuntii temporis Messiani. Itaque Christi adventum temporum decursu multifariam praedictum esse censet (*Apol.* I, 31, p. 202). Tales prophetas continua successione, id quod Josephus negaverat, usque ad Joannem Baptistam sese excepisse affirmat *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 52, p. 166. 168: *Ὅτι οὖν οὐδέποτε ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν ἐπαύσατο οὔτε προφήτης οὔτε ἄρχων, ἐξότου ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε μέχρις οὗ οὗτος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔπαθεν, οὐδ' ἀναισχύντως τολμήσετε εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀποδεῖξαι ἔχετε.* — *Ibid.* *προφητῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν μέχρις Ἰωάννου γεγενημένων.*

[2] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 31, p. 92: *Ἔνθα ὁρμώμενος ὁ μεγαλόφωνος Πλάτων μετὰ πολλῆς παῤῥησίας βοᾷ λέγων· Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων. Ἐπεὶ πόθεν ἄλλοθεν μεμαθηκὼς ταῦτα ἔγραψεν, εἰ μὴ παρὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν; Πόθεν δὲ τὴν πρόφασιν εἰληφὼς καὶ ἐν τῇ πυρώδει οὐσίᾳ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ἔφη; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης τῶν βασιλειῶν ἱστορίας; Ἔνθα γέγραπται· Οὐκ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι κύριος καὶ μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα συσσεισμός, οὐκ ἐν τῷ συσσεισμῷ κύριος καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ φωνὴ αὔρας λεπτῆς* (I Reg. XIX, 11 sq.).

ab eo non discrepare, loci supra allati satis demonstrant. *Deinde* affert *Justinus* interdum historias in Pentateucho narratas eodem modo quo vaticinia prophetarum: *Ἐξηγούμενος οὖν διὰ Μωσέως ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ περὶ Ἰακὼβ, τοῦ υἱωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, οὕτως φησί* (Gen. XXX, 10—13. XXXII, 20—30)[1] et: *Εἴρηται γάρ που καὶ διὰ Μωσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ οὕτως* (Ex. VI, 2—4)[2]; quin etiam utitur allegorica divini codicis interpretatione.[3] *Postremo* apologetae diserte originem librorum quoque historicorum ab inspiratione prophetica deducunt. *Justinus* enim gentiles ita compellat: *καιρὸς οὖν ἥκει νῦν, πεισθέντας ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἱστοριῶν, ὅτι πολλῷ πρεσβύτατοι Μωσῆς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ προφῆται γεγόνασι πάντων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν σοφῶν γεγενῆσθαι νομισθέντων, τῆς παλαιᾶς μὲν ὑμᾶς τῶν προγόνων ἀποστῆναι πλάνης, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ ταῖς θείαις τῶν προφητῶν ἱστορίαις καὶ γνῶναι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν, οὐ λόγων ὑμῖν ἀπαγγελλόντων τέχναις, οὐδὲ πιθανῶς καὶ πιστευτικῶς λεγόντων (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν κλεπτόντων), ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὀνόμασί τε καὶ ῥήμασι χρωμένων καὶ πανθ' ὑμῖν ἀπαγγελλόντων, ὃ τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κατελθὸν πνεῦμα τοὺς τὴν ἀληθῆ θεοσέβειαν μανθάνειν βουλομένους δι' αὐτῶν διδάσκειν προήρηται.*[4] *Theophilus* vero postquam prophetas *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθέντας καὶ σοφισθέντας, ὄργανα θεοῦ γενομένους καὶ χωρήσαντας σοφίαν*

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[1] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 58, p. 192.

[2] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 126, p. 240.

[3] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 42, p. 136: *Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα ἁπλῶς τὰ ὑπὸ Μωσέως διαταχθέντα δύναμαι καταριθμῶν ἀποδεικνύναι τύπους καὶ σύμβολα καὶ καταγγελίας τῶν τῷ Χριστῷ γίνεσθαι μελλόντων καί τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν προεγνωσμένων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοίως γίνεσθαι μελλόντων.* *Ibid.* c. 14, p. 378. 380: *Καὶ γὰρ ἐν παραβολῇ λίθον πολλαχοῦ καλεῖν ἀπέδειξα τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν τροπολογίᾳ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰσραήλ.*

[4] *Coh. ad Gr.* c. 35, p. 98.

τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ nuncupavit, ita pergit: *καὶ πάντες φίλα ἀλλήλοις καὶ σύμφωνα εἰρήκασι, τά τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγενημένα, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς γεγονότα καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς νυνὶ τελειούμενα.*[1] Apparet igitur prophetas sive praeterita testantur sive futura praedicunt ex apologetarum sententia divinitus edoctos esse. Ita opponunt apologetae discordi sapientiae et absurdis fabulis gentilium Scripturam sacram tamquam codicem veritatis mire divinum.

[1] *Ad Autol.* II, p. 78. Cfr. *Ibid.* c. 30, p. 142: *Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμᾶς διδάσκει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προφητῶν, ὥστε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς ἀρχαιότερα γράμματα τυγχάνει, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθέστερα πάντων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν δείκνυται ὄντα.*

PARS ALTERA.

QUID PATRES APOSTOLICI ET APOLOGETAE SECUNDI SAECULI DE LIBRORUM NOVI TESTAMENTI INSPIRATIONE STATUERINT.

Multum inter theologos aetatis nostrae agitata est quaestio: quando primum libri Veteris atque Novi Testamenti et origine et auctoritate ab ecclesia aequiparati sint. Opinionem plane singularem hac in re disquirenda defendit *Henricus Thiersch.*[1] Is sanctionem antiquioris canonis, qui libros postea *ὁμολογούμενα* nominatos continuerit, exeunti apostolico saeculo propterea assignavit, quia aetas ista productiva sua et constitutiva natura ab insequenti, quae tradita fideliter et tenaciter conservarit, longissime differat. At canonis compositio melius ad conservativam quam ad constitutivam aetatem refertur, quemadmodum etiam canon Veteris Testamenti non prophetica aetate, sed conservativa illa, cujus principes Esra et Nehemia sunt, coortus est. Maxime Thierschio adversantur illi critici, qui canonis sanctionem medio saeculo secundo attribuentes ante hoc tempus certa inspirationis librorum Novi Testamenti vestigia apud patres ecclesiae inveniri ne-

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1 *Versuch zur Herstellung des historischen Standpunctes für die Kritik der neutestamentlichen Schriften.* p. 309 sq. Cfr. *Ejusdem Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der neutestamentlichen Schriften.* p. 83—87.

gant.[1] At etiamsi probari posset, tam sero canonem Novi Testamenti esse absolutum, tamen merito jam antea inspiratorum librorum mentionem inveniendam exspectaremus. *Primum* enim ratio postulat, ut ante canonis constitutionem singulis ejus partibus divina origo tributa sit, siquidem certa de inspiratione doctrina, minime vero inspirationis fides constitutionem canonis praesupponit. *Deinde* historia docet etiam canonem Veteris Testamenti paulatim accrevisse et inspiratorum librorum agnitionem canonis perfectionem antecessisse. Ex I Chron. XVI, 36 certissime concludere possumus, Psalterium non minus quam Thoram aetate Chronistae i. e. sub finem Persici et ante initium Seleucidici temporis librum sacrum in quinque partes divisum et tamquam *ἄλλην πεντάτευχον* fuisse.[2] Ibi enim Chronista carmina, quae arca foederis solemniter in urbem sacram deducta cantata fuerint, libere referens doxologiam quoque Psalmo CVI. subjunctam carmini festo inserit. Porro e Dan. IX, 2 sequitur, auctorem hujus libri collectionem librorum propheticorum divina auctoritate vestitam in exilio novisse. Namque Daniel ibi dicit, se primo imperii Medici anno בַּסְּפָרִים attentum factum esse ad annos, per quos Hierosolyma devastata esse Deus vellet, quibus verbis certo ad annos illos septuaginta Jeremiae XXV, 11 sq. XXIX, 10 spectat; quamobrem necesse est, numerus pluralis ספרים ad complures ejusdem generis libros i. e. ad collectionem quandam librorum propheticorum referatur; alioquin enim non intelligitur, cur non בספר ה' (cfr. Jes. XXXIV, 16) scriptum sit. Nonne igitur verisimile est, etiam illo tempore,

[1] Cfr. *Bleekium*, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* p. 636 sqq. *Crednerum*, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon.* p. 125. *Landererum* s. v. *Kanon des neuen Testaments in Herzogii RE.* T. VII, p. 270 sqq. *Kahnisium* l. c. I, p. 655. *Volkmarum*, *Das 4. Buch Esra.* p. 291. *Diestelium* l. c. p. 21. *Danielem*, *Theologische Controversen.* p. 27 sqq.

[2] Cfr. *Francisci Delitzschii* Commentarium in Psalmos. 1867. p. 11.

quo canon Novi Testamenti, ut vulgo creditur, nondum constitutus erat, scriptis quibusdam vel collectionibus scriptorum Novi Testamenti originem et auctoritatem divinam esse addictam? *Tertio* e Novo Testamento ipso apparet, apostolos praedicationi suae orali non magis quam epistolis suis divinam auctoritatem vindicasse, assentiente apostolica ecclesia (cfr. I Thess. II, 13. Gal. I, 9; II Cor. V, 15 sqq. I Thess. V, 27. II Thess. II, 2. 15. III, 13), easque ab una ecclesia ad alteram migravisse (cfr. Col. IV, 16). Epistolas Paulinas brevi magnae ecclesiae parti innotuisse ostendunt epistola Jacobi et prior Petri, quae ad illas manifeste respiciunt.[1] Quamobrem non video, qua de causa locus ille vexatissimus II *Petr.* III, 16, quo epistolae Paulinae libris Veteris Testamenti manifeste aequiparantur[2], contra authentiam alterius epistolae Petrinae urgeri possit; nam non solum Paulus (Eph. II, 20), sed etiam Petrus (I Petr. I, 12) verbum apostolicum eodem loco ac propheticum habet. Dictitant quidem critici, ecclesiam primaevam non ausam esse sacrosanctis Veteris Testamenti scripturis libros Novi Testamenti tamquam aeque divinos aequiparare. At falso eos judicare e scriptis patrum jam comprobabimus. Ulterius igitur in hac re investiganda progredientes quaerimus:

I. Utrum patres apostolici libris Novi Testamenti inspirationem tribuerint.

Clemens Romanus in priori epistola aut annis 68—70[3] aut annis 94—96[4] conscripta Corinthios ad concordiam ad-

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[1] Cfr. *Bleekium* l. c. p. 548. 570.

[2] Cfr. *Bleekium* l. c. p. 636. *Rothium*, *Zur Dogmatik* p. 206. Utrum inter reliquas illas scripturas (τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς), quas auctor hujus epistolae commemorat, alia quoque scripta apostolica, velut epistola Jacobi fuerint, dijudicari nequit.

[3] Cfr. *Hefelium*, Patrum apostolicorum opera p. XXXIII sq.

[4] Cfr. *Dresselium*, Patrum apostolicorum opera p. XIX. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Die apostolischen Väter* p. 83 sqq.

monens priorem Pauli ad ipsos epistolam, quae et ipsa factionum certamina castigat, hisce verbis commemorat[1]: Ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. Τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (h. e. primis evangelicae praedicationis temporibus) ἔγραψεν; Ἐπ' ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν. περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. Falso ex illo πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν colligeremus, Clementem Paulo in actu scribendi inspirationem quandam peculiarem, ab inspiratione cum apostolatu donata diversam, tribuisse; id vero verba ostendunt, eum epistolam illam Paulinam non ab humano tantum, sed etiam divino Spiritu repetiisse. Sane utrum Clemens hanc Pauli epistolam scriptis Veteris Testamenti aequipararit necne non liquet. Legimus quidem in fine cap. XXXIV[2]: Λέγει γάρ· ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ οἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν οὐκ ἀνέβη, ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν αὐτόν, et cum haec in Vetere Testamento ad verbum ita non inveniantur, dici possit Clementem locum Paulinum I Cor. II, 9 formulâ λέγει γὰρ (sc. θεός sive γραφή) inducere; sed Paulus ipse haec afferens formula ὡς γέγραπται utitur; formula igitur Clementina formulae Paulinae respondet.[3] Aliquoties Clemens sententias ex aliis quoque Pauli epistolis[4] et ex epistola ad Hebraeos[5] in usum suum convertit, sed epistolas illas diserte non laudat. Praeterea nonnulla Christi effata refert[6], ita tamen, ut fontis mentionem non faciat. *Tischendorfius*, qui epistolam Clementinam non multo post

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1 *C.* XLVII, p. 94 (ed. Hef. p. 118. ed. Hilgf. I, p. 50).
2 p. 80 (ed. Hef. p. 100. ed. Hilgf. I, p. 38).
3 Cfr. *Hilgenfeldum* ad hunc locum.
4 E. g. c. XXXV Rom. I, p. 29—32.
5 E. g. c. XXXVI Hebr. I, 3 sqq.
6 c. XIII Matth. VI, 12—15. VII, 1. 2. Luc. VI, 36—38. c. XLVI Matth. XXVI, 24. XVIII, 6. Luc. XVII, 2.

persecutionem Neronianam conscriptam esse putat, fontem illum traditionem oralem esse contendit.[1] Quodsi epistola aetati Domitiani assignanda est, nihil obstat, quominus evangelia Matthaei et Lucae allegata esse credamus.[2]

Transimus ad **Barnabam**, cujus epistolam alii ao. 96 vel 97[3], alii circa annum 120[4] conscriptam esse suspicantur. Abhinc duobus saeculis in hac epistola tractanda viri docti versati sunt, sed, id quod maxime dolendum erat, in Graecis codicibus diu deerant quinque prima capita, ab antiqua versione Latina haud dextere suppleta. In his ipsis capitibus locus quidam omnium theologorum in se convertebat animos. Ibi enim cap. IV evangelium Matthaei (XXII, 14 cfr. XX, 16) ita allegatum legebatur: *Attendamus ergo, ne forte, sicut scriptum est, multi vocati, pauci electi inveniamur.* Ecce evangelium Matthaei scripturis sacris annumeratum! Id ipsum vero criticis non potuit non offensioni esse maximae eorumque sagacitatem provocare. *Crednerus*[5] initio a parte *Orellii*[6] stetit, qui cum Barnabas in capite XII quartum Esrae librum alleget illum locum indidem afferri censebat; nam in hujus apocryphi textu latino cap. VIII, 3 legitur: *nam multi creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur.* *Volkmarus*[7] et *Straussius*[8]

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1 *Wann wurden unsre Evangelien verfasst?* ed. IV, p. 21.

2 Cfr. *Ritschlium*, *Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der Kritik der synoptischen Evangelien.* *Zelleri* *Theologische Jahrbücher.* 1851. p. 495.

3 Cfr. *Hilgenfeldum* l. c. p. 46. *Nitzschium*, *Grundriss der christlichen Dogmengeschichte.* p. 102.

4 Cfr. *Hefelium* l. c. p. XIII. *Tischendorfium* l. c. p. 92. *Volkmarum*, *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 68.

5 De librorum Novi Testamenti inspiratione etc. p. 7 sq.

6 Selecta patrum ecclesiae capita ad *εἰσηγητικὴν* sacram pertinentia. Turici 1820. p. 5.

7 *Das 4. Buch Esra.* p. 290 sq. *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 111 sqq.

8 *Leben Jesu, für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet.* p. 55.

Crednero adstipulati sunt. At hic ipse[1] postea recte intellexit, quam dissimilia sint verba libri Esrae loco isti epistolae Barnabae, praesertim quum, uti epistolae connexus flagitat, omnis vis posita sit in voce *κλητοί*, quae apud Esram deest. Aliam igitur enodationem quaerendam esse statuens *Crednerus* in hanc opinionem incidit: formulam sicut *„scriptum est"* in Graeco textu non exstitisse, sed ab interprete latino insertam esse.[2] Sed hoc quoque effugium criticis praeclusum est Tischendorfiana inventione codicis Sinaitici. Nam in exemplari Graeco, quod hic codex continet, verba Barnabae haec sunt: *προςέχωμεν, μήποτε, ὡς γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοί, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὑρεθῶμεν.* Quae cum ita sint, unicum effugium a *Gieselero*[3] ostensum remanet: dici enim potest, Barnabam hoc enuntiatum Christi, quod in proverbii consuetudinem abierit, perperam Veteri Testamento attribuisse.[4] At cur talibus artificiis id quod negari nequit dissimulemus et adulteremus? Non possumus inficias ire, a Barnaba Matthaei evangelium eodem loco quo libros Veteris Testamenti positum esse, id quod non solum *Tischendorfius*[5], *Wieselerus*[6], *Muellerus*[7] urgent, sed etiam *Hilgenfeldus*[8] et *Holtzmannus*[9] concedunt. Utrum vero illo tempore alia quoque Novi Testamenti scripta in eadem dignitate fuerint, e Barnabae epistola dijudicari ne-

[1] *Beiträge* I, p. 28.

[2] Cfr. quoque *Gieselerum*, *Historisch-kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien.* p. 155.

[3] L. c.

[4] Cfr. *Scholtenium*, *Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des neuen Testaments.* p. 10 sqq.

[5] L. c. p. 92 sqq.

[6] L. c.

[7] L. c. p. 126.

[8] *Der Kanon und die Kritik des neuen Testaments.* p. 10 Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum II, p. 69.

[9] *Barnabas und Johannes. Hilgenfeldi Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.* 1871. p. 351.

quit.[1] Videamus, an forte ex Ignatii epistolis certi quid hac de re comperiamus.[2]

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[1] Ne hoc quidem pro certo evinci potest, Barnabam novisse reliqua evangelia. *Keimius* (*Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* I, p. 141 sq.) in epistola ejus evangelium Joanneum subaudit; sed argumenta, quae profert, non firma sunt; nam *primum* filium Dei in carne venisse (ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί c. V) vel apparuisse (ἐφανερώθη — φανείς c. XIV) vel in carne apparuisse (ὅτι ἐν σαρκὶ ἔδει αὐτὸν φανερωθῆναι c. V; ἐν σαρκὶ φανεροῦσθαι c. VI; ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς c. XII) non in evangelio, sed in epistolis Joannis (I Joan. IV, 2. III, 8. II Joan. 7) et in prima epistola ad Timotheum (III, 16) leguntur; *deinde* ea quae Barnabas de inhabitatione Dei in cordibus fidelium dicit (ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας — ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν — αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικῶν — πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ c XVI; γενώμεθα ναὸς τέλειος τῷ θεῷ c. IV; ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας c. VI) magis ad epistolas Paulinas (I Cor. III, 16 sqq. VI, 19. II Cor. VI, 16) et priorem epistolam Petri (II, 5. IV, 17) quam ad evangelium quartum respiciunt; comparationem *denique* Jesu Christi cum serpente aeneo (c. XII) Barnabas, qui totum V. T. in Christum vaticinari putat, ipse invenire poterat, nisi ea tum temporis in ecclesia usitata erat, cfr. *Holtzmannum* l. c. p. 336 sqq. *Volkmarum*, *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 66 sqq. *Muellerum* l. c. p. 281. At veri modum excedunt *Holtzmannus* (l. c. p. 341) et *Volkmarus* (l. c. p. 143) asseverantes Barnabam adversari relationi Joanneae. Nam loco Ps. XXII, 21 (φεῖσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας, καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας, ὅτι πονηρευομένων συναγωγαὶ ἐπανέστησάν μοι) hoc tantum c. VI comprobat, Jesum crucifixum in Vetere Testamento praedictum esse (αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν οὕτω παθεῖν· ἔδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ), minime vero negat, Jesu defuncti latus a milite esse perforatum (Joan. XIX, 34).

[2] In enarrandis patrum apostolicorum de divina auctoritate Veteris Testamenti sententiis non inconsulto septem epistolas Ignatianas et breviorem quidem earum recensionem allegavimus. Nam tres illas epistolas, quae Syriace translatae ad nos pervenerunt, nonnisi epitomen esse *Baurius* (*Die Ignatianischen Briefe und ihr neuster Kritiker.* 1848), *Uhlhornius* (*Illgenii Zeitschrift* 1851. p. 1—65. 247—341), *Hilgenfeldus* (*Die apostolischen Väter* p. 274—279), *Hefelius* (l. c. p. LXI sqq.) satis demonstrasse nobis videntur. Neque vero assentimur *Baurio* (*Ueber den Ursprung des Episcopats in der christlichen Kirche.* 1858), *Hilgenfeldo* (l. c. p. 210 sqq.), *Scholtenio* (l. c. p. 51), qui etiam septem illas epistolas, quamquam Polycarpi, Irenaei, Luciani Samosateni testimonia iis favent (cfr. *Hefelium* l. c. p. LII sq.), pro spuriis habent. Nam frustra comprobare conati sunt, romanum Ignatii iter, quod scribendis his epistolis occa-

In Ignatii epistolis, ao. 107 vel ao. 116 conscriptis, complures loci exstant, quibus *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* et scripta prophetarum in aequo ponuntur. *Ad Smyrn.* c. V de docetis dicit: *οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφητεῖαι οὐδ' ὁ νόμος Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατὰ ἄνδρα παθήματα.* Simplicissimum quidem nobis esse videtur, *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* hoc loco idem quod apud patres posteriores significare h. e. evangelium scriptum, non praedicationem evangelicam. Sed confitemur, sententiam contrariam a *Gieselero*[1], *Hefelio*[2], *Landerero*[3] defensam argumentis sufficientibus refutari non posse. Non aliter judicandum est de loco illo epistolae *ad Smyrn.* c. VII: *Πρέπον οὖν ἐστιν* ..... *προσέχειν τοῖς προφήταις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πάθος ἡμῖν δεδήλωται καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τετελείωται.* Etiam in loco illo epistolae *ad Philad.* c. VIII: *Ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὕρω, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω*, non video, quomodo extra omnem dubitationem collocari possit, evangelium tamquam documentum scriptum, cujus auctoritatem haeretici re-

sionem praebuisse perhibetur, commentitium esse (cfr. *Hefelium* l. c. p. XLIX sqq., *Uhlhornium* l. c. p. 264 sqq.), porro haereses ab Ignatio impugnatas posterioribus demum temporibus viguisse (cfr. *Hefelium* l. c. p. LVIII sq., *Uhlhornium* l. c. p. 281 sqq.), denique falsarium quendam Ignatii personam egisse (cfr. *Rothium*, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung.* 1837. p. 718 sqq.). Maximam quidem veritatis speciem ea habent, quae ex episcopatu in epistolis istis valde commendato et celebrato protulerunt. At dubito, quin argumenta, quibus *Rothius* (l. c. p. 728 sqq.) et *Uhlhornius* (l. c. p. 317 sqq) ostenderunt, episcopatum ab Ignatio celebratum nuperrime in ecclesia illius aetatis institutum et ab episcopatu posterioris hierarchiae diversum fuisse, ab illustrissimis illis criticis profligata sint.

[1] L. c. p. 106.

[2] Ad hunc locum.

[3] L. c. p. 274.

pudient, considerari.[1] Aliter vero se habet locus ille clarissimus epistolae *ad Philad.* c. V: *Ἀλλ᾽ ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ κλήρῳ ἠλεήθην ἐπιτύχω προςφυγὼν* (e Pearsonii et Smithii conjectura *προσφύγωμεν*) *τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ τοὺς δὲ προφήτας ἀγαπῶμεν, διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλπίζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν.* Maximo in errore versari nobis videntur ii, qui hoc quoque loco libros Novi Testamenti commemorari negant.[2] Nam si Ignatius ad verbum traditionis oralis in ecclesia vigens profugere se ipsum diceret vel legentes ut eo confugerent admoneret, hanc traditionem in duas partes discinderet: *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* h. e. traditionem factorum et sermonum Jesu, et *τοὺς ἀποστόλους* h. e. doctrinam apostolicam. Negari igitur non posset, hic *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* angustiori sensu usurpari quam tribus illis locis, quos supra attulimus. Talis traditionis partitio nusquam invenitur et profecto rationi plane contraria est. Concedimus quidem, universam ecclesiae traditionem, i. e. magnalium Dei praedicationem ab apostolis ecclesiae traditam, *εὐαγγέλιον* nominari posse; sed quomodo verbum apostolicum, quod nihil aliud est nisi praedicatio evangelica in ecclesia vigens, ab evangelio distingui possit, non intelligimus. Nisi igitur violenter textum mutare velimus, uti *Lessingius*[3] facit, qui ingeniose ita scribendum esse ait: *προσφυγὼν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀποστόλοις*, concedendum est[4], Ignatium collectionem quandam epistolarum

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1 Contra *Thierschium*, *Versuch zur Herstellung etc.* p. 425.

2 Cfr. *Hefelium* ad h. l. *Gieselerum* l. c. p. 157 sqq. *Landererum* l. c. p. 274.

3 Opp. ed. *Lachmannus.* T. XI, p. 567.

4 Cfr. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Der Kanon und die Kritik des neuen Testaments.* p. 31.

apostolicarum et evangelium quoddam sive collectionem scriptionum evangelicarum scriptis Veteris Testamenti aequiparare. Scriptiones illae evangelicae, quippe quae Jesu vitam ante oculos ponant, carnem Christi i. e. praesentiam ejus continuo visibilem, scripta vero apostolica quasi adhuc praesens apostolorum presbyterium Ignatio repraesentant. Utrum autem omnia *ὁμολογούμενα* noverit, dijudicari nequit. Adhibet sine dubio evangelium Matthaei[1], Lucae[2] et Joannis.[3] Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios ei ignotam esse, e cap. XII. *epistolae ad Eph.* concludi nequit.[4]

Interpretationem nostram loci Ignatiani confirmaret locus quidam *Epistolae ad Diognetum*, si *Moehlero* et *Hefelio*, qui eam Trajani aetate conscriptam esse censent, contradici non posset. Legimus enim c. XI (T. II operum Justini p. 502): *Εἶτα φόβος νόμου ᾄδεται, καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται, καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἵδρυται καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ.* Nam hoc loco pluralem *εὐαγγέλια* de scriptis evangeliis intelligi oportere sole clarius est.

Ignatium excipiat **Polycarpus.**[5] Ejus epistola licet brevis

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1 Cfr. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Die apostolischen Väter.* p. 280 sq. *Scholtenium* l. c. p. 52.

2 *Ad Smyrn.* c. III cfr. Luc. XXIV, 36 sq. *Hilgenfeldus* (l. c. p. 281) ibi evangelium Nazaraeorum (cfr. *Hieronymum*, *De vir. illustr.* c. XVI) vel evangelium Petri allegari putat. *Scholtenius* (l. c. p. 53) evangelium Lucae non excludit.

3 *Ad Rom.* c. VII cfr. Joan. VI, 51 sq. *Ad Philad.* c. VII cfr. Joan. III, 8. *Hilgenfeldus* antea (*Die apostolischen Väter* p. 279 sqq.) negavit, nunc (*Der Kanon und die Kritik des neuen Testaments* p. 31) concedit, epistolas Ignatianas recordari evangelii Joannei.

4 Cfr. *Dresselium* et *Hefelium* ad h. l.

5 Authentia epistolae Polycarpi testimonio Irenaei et Eusebii (cfr. *Hefelium* l. c. p. LXXVIII) confirmatur, ita ut vel *Volkmarus* (*Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien* p. 43 sqq.) et *Scholtenius* (l. c. p. 41 sqq.) de ea dubitare non audeant. Sed integritatem ejus *Ritschlius* (*Die Ent-*

tot enuntiata Christi, quae in evangelio Matthaei leguntur[1], totque verba epistolarum apostolicarum[2] resonat, ut non possis non confiteri, Polycarpum et christianos, ad quos scribit, in scripturis illis tamquam divinis maxime esse versatos. Quod confirmatur loco illo *cap.* XII, qui permultas criticis paravit difficultates: *Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, irascimini et nolite peccare, et sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram.* Hae sententiae, quarum prior e Ps. IV (v. 5) desumpta est, apud Paulum Eph. IV, 26 conjunctae leguntur. Nihil nostra interest, utrum Polycarpus Ps. IV, 5 et Eph. IV, 26 an tantummodo Eph. IV, 26 alleget; hoc enim nullo modo negari posse videtur, epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios hoc loco in numerum sacrarum literarum referri. Ne hoc concedere cogerentur, varia excogitaverunt critici.

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stehung der altkatholischen Kirche. ed. II. 1860. Appendix), *Volkmarus*, *Scholtenius* in dubium vocarunt, praesertim eos locos, qui de Ignatio et epistolis ejus loquuntur, interpolatos esse dictitantes. At qui authentiam illarum epistolarum tenet non dubitabit, quin epistola integra et, sicuti e c. XIII elucet, haud multo post Ignatii martyrium h. e. post an. 107 vel 115 conscripta sit. Comprobare quidem conati sunt *Hilgenfeldus* (*Die apostolischen Väter* p. 271 sqq.), *Volkmarus*, *Scholtenius*, epistolam post medium saeculum alterum esse exaratam. At rejicimus eorum argumenta. Primum enim non necesse est, adhortationem illam c XII: *Orate pro regibus* ad Marcum Aurelium et Lucium Verum, qui inde ab ao. 161 socii imperii erant, respicere; nam pluralis *regibus* est pluralis categoriae. Deinde verisimillimum est, haereses a Polycarpo impugnatas jam primis decenniis saeculi secundi ecclesiam perturbasse. Postremo narrat quidem *Irenaeus* (*Adv. haer.* III, 3, 4), Marcionem a Polycarpo *πρωτότοκον τοῦ Σατανᾶ* nominatum esse; at non apparet, cur fieri non potuerit, ut jam antea (c. VII) haereticos nomine isto designaret.

1 In c. II (*μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί*) Polycarpus fortasse potius Luc. VI, 20 quam Matth. V, 3 in animo habet.

2 Praeter epistolas Paulinas (etiam pastorales) acta apostolorum (c. I cfr. act. II, 24) atque prima epistola Joannea (c. VII cfr. IV, 3) et prior Petrina (c. I. II. VIII. X) allegantur.

Id quod *Crednerus* initio proposuerat praetermittentes[1], quia refutatione indignum est, aliud ejus effugium notemus.[2] Versionem epistolae Polycarpianae latinam dicit minime esse fidam, sed, ut certa quaedam vestigia arguant, interpolatam; e. c. cap. II afferri macarismum illum: „Beati pauperes spiritu" praemissa formula: *Et quod dictum est;* in graeco vero epistolae textu nihil exstare nisi: *καί· ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί.* At haec Credneri argumentatio non firma est; longe enim locus, de quo quaeritur, ab hoc differt. Nam in hoc verba *Et quod dictum est* postea apposita esse, etiamsi graecus textus nos deficeret, suspicari possemus; causa enim prorsus nulla inveniri potest, cur soli ultimo dictorum Christi, quae allegantur, fons, unde haustum est, additus sit. Contra illo loco, de quo agimus, contextus postulat verba: *Ut his scripturis dictum est.* Polycarpus enim, postquam c. XI quomodo Philippenses erga presbyterum quendam lapsum, nomine Valentem, se habuerint exposuit eosque ne asperius eum tractarent cohortatus est, hoc modo c. XII pergit: Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis; et nihil vos latet..... Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, irascimini etc. Negari nequit, verba *ut his scripturis dictum est* necessitate quadam interna a contextu flagitari. Etiamsi igitur ea ab interprete addita esse probari posset, nihilominus constaret, verba sequentia, quae aut e Ps. IV et Eph. IV aut e sola epistola ad Ephesios desumta sunt, a Polycarpo ipso tamquam partem sacrarum literarum adduci, in quibus Philippenses bene exerci-

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[1] *De librorum N. T. inspiratione* p. 19: Ultima verba: *ut his scripturis dictum est* nullo modo ad antecedentia *in sacris literis* referenda sunt; Polycarpus multo potius inter sacras literas et has scripturas distinguit. Sunt vero *hae scripturae* Pauli epistolae, ad quas paulo ante (c. XI) lectores allegaverat.

[2] *Beiträge* I, p. 20 sq. Cfr. *Scholtenium* l. c. p. 44.

tatos esse confidit. Quod *Crednerus* et ipse sensit; paulo enim infra: Sin vero, inquit, versionem latinam loco nostro rectam esse probari posset, usus dicendi eum, qui integre et libere interpretatur, cogeret, aliam verborum explicationem quaerere. Et quamnam nobis proponit explicationem? Verisimile esse opinatur, verba Eph. IV, 26 dictiones esse proverbiales, quarum altera e Psalmis, altera ex apocrypho quodam libro fluxerit, ita ut *hae scripturae,* quas Polycarpus allegat, Psalterium et liber ille apocryphus sint, exclusa epistola Paulina. Ne igitur concedere cogatur, jam Polycarpi aetate epistolas Pauli sacris scripturis esse annumeratas, librum quendam apocryphum, quem unquam lucem vidisse probari nequit, comminiscitur eumque a Polycarpo Psalmis parem habitum esse sibi persuadet. Quis non videt, ejusmodi conjecturis, quantumvis sint ingeniosae, veritatem confirmari potius quam labefactari?

Apparet igitur non magis ex epistolis Ignatianis quam e Polycarpiana, jam initio saeculi alterius epistolas apostolicas et collectionem scriptionum evangelicarum, in quibus certo evangelia Matthaei, Lucae, Joannis et sicuti ex Eusebii (h. e. III, 39) relatione concludimus, etiam Marci[1] erat, et omnino libros illos, qui ab Eusebio nuncupantur ὁμολογούμενα, ab ecclesia scripturis Veteris Testamenti tamquam sacris aquiparatos esse, id quod Eusebii testimonio confirmatur.[2] An revera absonum est, ecclesiam defunctis summis illis apostolis eorumque discipulis, qui colum-

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1 Etiam *Pastorem Hermae*, qui ex *Hilgenfeldi* (*Die apostolischen Väter* p. 158 sqq.), *Volkmari* (*Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien* p. 64), *Scholtenii* (l. c. p. 6) sententia c. an. 130 conscriptus est, evangelium Marci adhibuisse, *Koestlinius* (*Der Ursprung und die Composition der synoptischen Evangelien* p. 347 sq.) affirmavit, *Hilgenfeldus* (l. c. p. 184) certe negare non ausus est. Hermam evangelio quoque Joanneo usum esse, *Keimius* (l. c. p. 143 sq.) vix pro certo evicit, quamquam loci quidam Pastoris sententiae ejus favere videntur.

2 Cfr. *Thierschium*, *Versuch zur Herstellung etc.* p. 314.

nae ecclesiae fuerant, scripta eorum collegisse iisque eandem auctoritatem ac scripturis Veteris Testamenti vindicasse?[1] Provocant adversarii ad **Papiam**, quem traditionem oralem evangeliis longe praetulisse ipsius verba, quae apud *Eusebium* (h. e. III, 39) exstant, manifeste ostendant: *Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἑρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τ' ἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγενομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἤ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἅτε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, οἱ τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.* Sed primum incertum est, utrum libri, quos commemorat Papias, evangelia canonica an apocrypha sint[2]; deinde Papias his verbis, praesertim postremis, se excusat atque defendit, quod vocem traditionis vivam evangeliis scriptis praeferat, unde cognoscitur, a plerisque tunc temporis majorem auctoritatem evangeliis quam traditioni tributam esse; postremo ipse Papias aegre se ferre indicat, quod jam illa aetate traditio oralis temere amplificata et depravata sit. At quamvis auctoritas traditionis illa aetate nondum labi coepisset, inde non sequeretur, scriptis Novi Testamenti propterea auctoritatem divinam denegatam esse.

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1 Cfr. *Tischendorfium* l. c. p. 99 sqq.
2 Cfr. *Tischendorfium* l. c. p. 109 sq.

Alia quaestio haec est, an patres apostolici libris Novi Testamenti eandem mere divinam originem ac libris Veteris assignaverint. Hoc sine dubio negandum. Ubicunque enim de hac illave Pauli epistola loquuntur, Pauli personam in medio ponunt. Scilicet inerat iis vera cognitio, Spiritum, qui prophetas Veteris Testamenti commoverit, Spiritum servitutis, qui vero apostolos impulerit, Spiritum libertatis fuisse.

II. Quid apologetae secundi saeculi de librorum Novi Testamenti inspiratione statuerint.

Ad hanc quaestionem responsuri plurimum temporis in **Justino Martyre** commorari debemus. Commemorat Justinus multis locis quasdam Novi Testamenti scripturas, quas quindecies (bis in Apologia priore, tredecies in Dialogo cum Tryphone) *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, quater (Dial. c. Tr. c. 105 ter et c. 107 semel) *ἀπομνημονεύματα* nominat. Bis nomine *εὐαγγελίου* utitur, *Apol.* I, 66 (p. 268): *Οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*; et *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 100 (p. 334): *Ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται εἰπών.* Multum diuque quaesitum est, *quasnam scripturas Justinus dicat ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων.* Ne temere judicare aut opinionem praejudicatam auctoritatemve magis quam rationem sequi videamur, brevi exponemus, quaenam sit nostra in hac quaestione perdifficili sententia.[1]

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[1] Perficientes hanc quaestionem libris Justini diligenter pertractatis his maxime usi sumus libris: *Credneri Beiträge* I, p. 133—267. *Ejusdem Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon.* 1860. p. 7—22. *Mynsteri Kleine theologische Schriften.* 1825. p. 1—49. *Bindemanni* commentatione: *Ueber die von Justinus dem Märtyrer gebrauchten Evangelien. Theologische Studien und Kritiken.* 1842. p. 355—482. *Semischii* libro: *Die apostoli-*

Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων non unam tantum scriptionem evangelicam [1], sed plures dici, pluralis *εὐαγγέλια*, qui Apol. I, 66 invenitur, extra dubitationem ponit. Sed quaenam sunt istae scriptiones? **Evangelium Matthaei** iis esse annumerandum, non video quibusnam de causis negari possit. Primum enim apparet, ex hoc potissimum evangelio ea, quae Justinus de vita et doctrina Jesu narrat, desumpta esse, velut Apol. I, 15—17, ubi honestatem doctrinae christianae probaturus magnam orationis montanae partem in usum suum vertit. Deinde constat, Justinum in locis quibusdam Veteris Testamenti non magis a versione Alexandrina, qua uti solet, quam a textu hebraico, ad quem interdum recurrit, discrepantem adeo cum Matthaeo consentire, ut hanc quoque ob causam dubitari nequeat, quin evangelium Matthaei noverit eoque praecipue usus sit. [2] Unde conjiciendum, eum ceteris evangeliis non pari modo quo Matthaei usum esse. Nihilominus ea non plane negligit.

Evangelium Lucae, ut ex eo ordiar, Justino non omnino tantum, sed etiam ea forma, quam nunc habet, notum fuisse, vel *Zellero* [3] persuasum est. Et revera non solum multa, quae Lucas de vita et doctrina Jesu nobis tradidit, in Justini scriptis inveniuntur [4], sed etiam in usu loquendi multifariam Lu-

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schen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus. 1848. *Hilgenfeldi Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justins, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcions.* 1850. *Luthardti* commentatione: *Justin der Märtyrer und das Johannes-Evangelium. Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche.* 1856. XXXI, p. 302—327. 350—400. XXXII, p. 68—115.

1 Sic *Gieselerus* l. c. p. 182.

2 Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 110—120. Etiam Hilgenfeldus (l. c. p. 277) non potest non concedere, Justinum evangelio quodam, quod a Matthaeo non adeo diversum fuerit, nonnunquam usum esse.

3 *Die älteste Ueberlieferung über die Schriften des Lucas. Theologische Jahrbücher.* 1848. p. 528—573. Cfr. *Volkmarum*, *Das Evangelium Marcions.* 1852. p. 179.

4 Cfr. *Semischium* l c. p. 134—138.

canam dictionem redolet[1], quin etiam saepe verbotenus cum Luca concinit.[2] Sin vero haec argumenta in dubium vocari et dilui possent, tamen evangelium Lucae inter *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων* fuisse demonstraret famosissimus ille locus *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 103, p. 348, ubi Justinus de sudore a Christi facie in horto Gethsemane defluente ita scribit: *ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἅ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι (γέγραπται), ὅτι ἱδρὼς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο, αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος· παρελθέτω εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο.* Nusquam enim alias nobis hac de re traditum est quam in evangelio Lucae (XXII, 42—44), ex quo narrationem illam se repetiisse Justinus apertissime indicat, hoc solo loco adjiciens, memorabilia apostolorum conscripta esse *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων* (cfr. Luc. I, 3). Fuerunt quidem, qui ex eo, quod apud Lucam *θρόμβοι αἵματος*, apud Justinum *θρόμβοι*, non addito *αἵματος*, legitur, demonstrare vellent, Justinum de sudore Christi narrantem evangelium quoddam apocryphum a docetis vel confictum vel immutatum sequi. At simplicem veritatem, modo ne eam agnoscant, vano commento commutant.[3]

Evangelium Marci an Justinus noverit cognitu difficile videtur, quia hoc evangelium traditionem evangelicam, quae in

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[1] Justinus ter voce *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* sicut Lucas de praedicatione evangelii, imprimis de annuntiatione Jesu nascituri angelica utitur (Apol. I, 33, p. 208. Dial. c. Tr. c. 51, p. 164. c. 100, p. 338), quae quidem vox in evangeliis ceteris non nisi Matth. XI, 5 reperitur. Primordia Jesu referens Deum sicuti Lucas *ὕψιστον* nominat. Utitur et ipse verbis *ἐπισκιάζειν* et *ἐπέρχεσθαι*, ut efficaciam Spiritus divini in conceptione Jesu significet (Apol. I, 33, p. 208. Dial. c. Tr. c. 100, p. 338).

[2] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 139—142.

[3] Etiam *Hilgenfeldus* (l. c. p. 291) non audet contendere, Justinum evangelium Lucae non adhibuisse.

evangeliis Matthaei et Lucae deposita est, paucis tantum locupletat. Attamen unus certe locus omnem dubitationem de hac re tollit; nam *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 106, p. 356 legimus haec: *Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον, ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφοὺς, υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου ὄντας, μετωνομακέναι ὀνόματι τοῦ Βοανεργές, ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς, σημαντικὸν ἦν τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἰακὼβ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπικληθέντι ἐδόθη κτλ.* Inter quatuor evangelia canonica solum Marci (III, 16 sq.) refert, Zebedaidas a Jesu filios tonitrus esse nominatos, et idem Marcus eodem loco tradit, Simoni a Jesu nomen Petri esse datum. Unde conficitur, etiam Marci evangelium a memorabilibus apostolorum non excludendum esse.

Difficilior est quaestio, an etiam **evangelio Joannis** Justinus usus sit. *Hilgenfeldus*[1] asseverat, non prius quam abhinc ao. 170 in Asia minore certum evangelii Joannei vestigium nobis occurrere, et Justinum evangelio quodam apocrypho, in quo quartum evangelium nitatur, usum esse. Sed ipse concedit, nihil repugnare opinioni, evangelium quod dicitur Joanneum inter annos 120 et 140 ortum esse. Itaque per se negari nequit, fieri potuisse, ut Justinus hoc quoque evangelium noverit et in usum suum verterit. Hoc autem vere factum esse probari potest. Et primum quidem eo, quod Justinus et in rebus et in verbis multifariam cum Joanne convenit. Nominat enim et ipse Christum lucem hominum sive mundi[2], quod nomen Christi quarto evangelio est peculiare; porro voce *μονογενής* divinam

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[1] *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung.* 1854. p. 345.

[2] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 17, p. 62: *φωτὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πεμφθέντος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

Christi originem significat[1] et recordatur loci Joan. I, 13, ubi fideles non ex humano sanguine, sed e Deo natos esse legimus, quum de Christo dicit: *ἐμηνύετο οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γενήσεσθαι τὸ αἷμα* (scil. *Χριστοῦ*) *ἀλλ' ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ*[2]; innititur etiam loco Joan. I, 20, 23 his verbis: *αὐτὸς ἐβόα: οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι*[3]; prima enim verba apud nullum alium evangelistarum exstant.[4] Quartum evangelium spectat etiam *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 69, p. 236: *ὁ Χριστὸς, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν πέφανται, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ γενετῆς πηροὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ χωλοὺς ἰάσατο, τὸν μὲν ἅλλεσθαι, τὸν δὲ καὶ ἀκούειν, τὸν δὲ καὶ ὁρᾶν τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ποιήσας.* Nam Jesum homines quoque, qui ex ortu caeci erant, sanasse nescio unde Justinus cognoverit nisi ex Joan. IX, 1 sqq. Profugerunt quidam ad Acta Pilati, ubi inter defensores Jesu homo caecus est, qui dicit: *ἐγὼ τυφλὸς ἐγεννήθην.* At illud ipsum *ἐκ γενετῆς* non in Actis Pilati, sed in evangelio Joanneo legitur.[5] Sunt insuper alii loci, quibus Justinus Joannis vestigia sequitur. Defungamur duobus certe exemplis. In *Apol.* I, 52, p. 240[6] verba Sachariae XII, 10 eadem forma (*ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*) ac Joan. XIX, 37 allegat, quamquam textum versionis Alexandrinae alium esse (*ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με, ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*) jam Hieronymus notat. Hanc consensionem infringere conati sunt nonnulli, dicentes Justinum exemplari quodam versionis Alexandrinae usum esse, in quod jam ante ipsius tempus dicti illius Sachariani forma Joannea

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1 *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 105, p. 352: *μονογενὴς ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος, ἰδίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ δύναμις γεγενημένος, προεδήλωσα.*

2 *Apol.* I, 32, p. 206. cfr. *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 54, p. 172. c. 63, p. 210.

3 *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 88, p. 304.

4 Vide plura exempla apud *Semischium* l. c. p. 165–170.

5 Cfr. *Luthardtum* l. c. p. 89 sq.

6 Cfr. *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 14, p. 52. c. 32, p. 102.

recepta fuerit. Hodie quoque decem codices *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* legunt, alii haec verba vel omnia vel ex parte vulgari versionis Alexandrinae textui assuunt, in uno denique codice haec textus forma invenitur: *ὄψονται πρός με, εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.*[1] At antiquissimi codices, velut Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus habent *κατωρχήσαντο* (רקדו pro דקרו) et decem illi codices cum ceteris nullius sunt momenti, utpote ex ipso textu Joanneo correcti sive interpolati. — Majore etiam auctoritate est locus ille clarissimus de regeneratione cum baptismo conjuncta *Apol.* I, 61, p. 258: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰςέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὅτι δὲ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσίν ἐστιν.* Justinum his verbis ad Joan. III, 3—5 spectare concedi oportet, quamquam hoc quoque argumentum inane reddere quidam audacter conati sunt, enuntiato illo Jesu, quod Matth. XVIII, 3 invenitur, cum verbis Justini collato.[2] At vocem *βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν* esse Joanneam negari non potest, ex quo eam Joan. III, 5 originariam esse codice Sinaitico et aliis testibus antiquissimis confirmatum est. Etiamsi vero ibi non exstaret, ex evangelio Matthaei Justino certo familiaris erat. Quod vero ultimorum quoque verborum (*ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον κτλ.*) auctor a Justino non diserte nominatur, nobis non contrarium est, quum non nisi e Joanneo illo Jesu cum Nicodemo colloquio intelligatur, quid valeat quoque tendat meditatio illa tam abrupte enuntiato Christi a Justino addita.[3] Idem enuntiatum Christi etiam in Clemen-

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[1] Cfr. *Crednerum*, *Beiträge* II, p. 296. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Kritische Untersuchungen* etc. p. 49.

[2] Cfr. *Crednerum*, Beiträge I, p. 252. *Schweglerum*, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*. 1846. I, p. 218—220. *Hilgenfeldum* l. c. p. 215 sqq. *Scholtenium* l. c. p. 33 sqq.

[3] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 189—200. *Luthardtum* l. c. p. 93—

tinis laudatur[1], sed ibi deest quod Justinus addit, fieri non posse, ut quis in uterum matris revertatur; unde elucet Justinum haec non aliunde nisi e quarto evangelio hausisse. Argumenta, quibus *Volkmarus*[2] hunc evangelii Joannei usum profligare atque adeo probare molitur, Justinum omnino non novisse illud evangelium, quippe quod ex evangelio quodam archetypo, Justini tempore adhuc integro et incorrupto, elaboratum sit, majorem sagacitatem quam sobrietatem illius critici demonstrant.

Ad has quas e scriptis Justini attulimus recordationes Joanneas hoc accedit, quod doctrinam de Christi persona Joanni peculiarem, quae prooemio evangelii ejus comprehenditur, non solum aliquòt locis Justini personantem audimus, sed totius christologiae ejus fundamentum esse cognoscitur — quod quidem *Volkmaro*[3] tantae est offensioni, ut Joannem potius e Justino hausisse malit. Sed hanc opinionem vanam esse et commentitiam, non solum inde sequitur, quod Justinus minime tanta indole praeditus erat, ut suopte ingenio ideam *τοῦ λόγου* ad personam Jesu Christi transferret[4], sed etiam inde, quod hoc repugnat expressae Justini affirmationi, doctrinam suam de Logo unigenito et incarnato e scriptionibus evangelicis haustam esse. *Μονογενὴς γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος* — inquit in *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 105, p. 352 — *ἰδίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ δύναμις γεγεννημένος καὶ ὕστερον*

107. *Tischendorfium* l. c. p. 35 sq. *Weizsaeckerum*, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte.* 1864. p. 227.

[1] V. *Tischendorfii* editionem N. T. VIII. ad Joan. III, 5, et *Angeri* Synopsin p. 273.

[2] *Programm über Justin den Märtyrer und sein Verhältniss zu unsren Evangelien.* 1853. p. 12—23. Cfr. *Eundem*, *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 98 sqq.

[3] *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 95.

[4] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 170—189. *Luthardtum* l. c. p. 68—81. *Tischendorfium* l. c. p. 31 sq. *Weizsaeckerum* l. c.

ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου γενόμενος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμάθομεν, προεδήλωσα. Nam verba *ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμάθομεν* ad assumtionem tantum carnis ex utero virginis factam referre est mere arbitrarium. Quamobrem etiam *Keimius*[1] et *Holtzmannus*[2] Justinum quarto evangelio usum esse concedunt.

Ex his quae diximus efficitur, *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, quae Justinus allegat, quatuor evangelia canonica continuisse. Sed eo jam progredimur, ut *haec memorabilia et canonica evangelia eadem esse* affirmemus, ea de re consentientes cum *Winero*[3], *Olshausenio*[4], *de Wettio*[5], *Hugio*[6], *Semischio, Luthardto*, aliis. Regeritur, a Justino ne semel quidem nomen ullius quatuor evangelistarum nominari, quamquam in allegandis Veteris Testamenti locis rarissime aut certe non constanter nomina auctorum omissa sint et Justinus semel tantum Apocalypsin afferens nomen Joannis addat.[7] Sed primum constat, patres ecclesiae libros Novi Testamenti multo saepius quam libros Veteris atque imprimis evangelia nominibus auctorum omissis allegare solere.[8] Deinde omissionis auctorum sufficiens causa haec esse mihi videtur, quod Justino memorabilia apostolorum unus quasi liber, una Jesu

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1 *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* I, p. 137 sqq.

2 S. v. *Evangelium nach Johannes.* *Schenkelii Bibellexikon.* T. II, p. 222 sq.

3 Justinum Martyrum evangeliis canonicis usum fuisse ostenditur. Lips. 1819.

4 *Die Aechtheit der 4 kanonischen Evangelien aus der Geschichte der 2 ersten Jahrhunderte erwiesen.* p. 286—335.

5 *Lehrbuch der historisch kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des N. T.* ed. V. 1848. p. 105 sqq.

6 *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.* ed. IV. 1847. II, p. 92 sqq.

7 *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 81, p. 278: *ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ προεφήτευσε.* Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 227.

8 Cfr. *Semischium* p. 84—86.

Christi imago, unum evangelium erant, quemadmodum evangelia non inscripta sunt *εὐαγγέλιον Ματθαίου κτλ.*, sed *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, quia unum evangelium est, a pluribus memoriae proditum. Sed quantumvis haec quae modo notavimus vera sint, necesse tamen est, ea quae contradicta sunt considerare et diluere. Satis autem erit contrariam *Credneri* argumentationem diligenter examinare et si fieri possit refutare.

Concedit *Crednerus* novisse Justinum evangelia canonica, illico vero debilitat et attenuat hanc concessionem, dum probare satagit, eum in citationibus suis evangelio quodam a quatuor evangeliis diverso usum esse. Quod evangelium dicit evangelio Matthaei et dictione et materia fuisse finitimum, sed partim plus, partim minus illo continuisse atque saepe in rebus referendis et in materia disponenda longe ab evangeliis canonicis discrepasse. Non esse dubitandum, quin hoc evangelium fuerit evangelium illud Petrinum, a Judaeochristianis, quorum consuetudine Justinus Sichemi (Neapoli) natus a pueritia usus sit, permagni aestimatum.[1]

Quibus assentiens *Schweglerus* pergit et dictitat, evangelium Petri, quo Justinus usus sit, idem esse cum evangelio *καθ' Ἑβραίους*, quod etiam *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους* nominatum esse antiqui narrent.[2] Jam argumenta *Credneri* et eorum qui ei adstipulantur singulatim afferemus et perponderabimus.

1) Justinus dicit, in memorabilibus apostolorum eorumque comitum omnia, quaecunque ad Jesu vitam et doctrinam pertineant, reperiri (*Apol.* I, 33, p. 208: *ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*), unde *Crednerus* concludit, memorabilia apostolorum non solum quatuor evan-

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[1] *Beiträge* I, p. 265 sq. Cfr. *Volkmarum*, *Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 91.

[2] L. c. p. 223.

gelia in canonem recepta, sed omnia evangelia, quae tum temporis ferebantur, comprehendere. At primum cum *Semischio*[1] notamus, Justinum illo *πάντα* haud raro ita uti, ut nisi falsi et inepti quid eum dicere velimus hyperbolice sit intelligendum. Deinde cogitari posse negamus, Justinum, si vox *ἀπομνημονεύματα* ad omnia evangelia sua aetate hic illic usitata spectaret, locos ex iis desumptos tam honorifico nomine communiter allegare et omnia apostolorum tamquam auctorum nomine insignire ausurum fuisse. Tertio praelectio memorabilium ecclesiastica[2] certum evangeliorum numerum postulat. Postremo id quod in *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 10, p. 38 Tryphon dicit, praecepta evangelii difficiliora esse quam quae observari possint, addens se eorum praeceptorum notitiam sibi parasse[3], unum evangelium aut collectionem quorundam evangeliorum indicat, quam etiam homo extra ecclesiam constitutus acquirere et legere poterat, non multitudinem evangeliorum per totam ecclesiam dispersorum.

2) *Crednerus* addit, Justinum ipsum diserte dicere, ex quo fonte hauserit. Nam ex c. 106 *Dial. c. Tr.* (p. 356), ubi ait *καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον, ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ τοῦτο κτλ.*, consequi, ejus fontem evangelium Petri esse.[4] Sed etiamsi pronomen *αὐτοῦ* ad *Πέτρον* referendum esset, nihil nos impedit, quominus traditionem *Papiae* aliorumque sequentes[5] memorabilia Petri de

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[1] L. c. p. 404 sq.

[2] *Apol.* I, 67, p. 270.

[3] *Ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα θαυμαστὰ οὕτως τε καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίσταμαι εἶναι, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς.*

[4] *Beiträge* I, p. 132. Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 220—222.

[5] *Papiae* apud *Eusebium* h. e. III, 39. *Tertulliani*, *Adv. Marc.* IV, 5, *Irenaei*, *Adv. haer.* III, 1, 1. *Origenis* ap. *Eus.* h. l. VI, 25,

Marci evangelio intelligamus, ubi duplex illa *μετονομασία* sic una juxta alteram, uti Justinus refert, scripta legitur.[1] Adstipulamur *Semischio*[2], turrim acus cuspidi superstruere eos, qui ex illo *αὐτοῦ* ad Petrum relato concludant, evangelium Petri et memorabilia apostolorum unum eundemque librum esse, quem Justinus excerpserit. Nos cum *Semischio* et *Olshausenio*[3] illud *αὐτοῦ* de Christo intelligimus, ita ut „memorabilia ejus" (gen. obj.) idem sit quod „memorabilia apostolorum (gen. subj.) ejus", siquidem non opus est *αὐτοῦ* in *αὐτῶν* mutare vel *τῶν ἀποστόλων* ante *αὐτοῦ* inserere.[4] Accedit quod evangelium Petri apocryphum nunquam inter libros praelectioni ecclesiasticae inservientes fuit. *Eusebius* enim narrat, Serapionem episcopum Antiochenum ecclesiae, quae erat Rhossi Ciliciae, *τὸ προφερόμενον ὀνόματι Πέτρου εὐαγγέλιον*, priusquam ipsum accurate perlegisset, in usum concessisse, postea vero, cum elementa haeretica inesse cognovisset, usum ejus ecclesiasticum vetuisse et, ut si quid detrimenti ecclesia inde ceperit ipse sarciret, semet ipsum mox eo venturum pollicitum esse, unde elucet, usum illum evangelii Petrini singularem et fortuitum fuisse, a reliquis ecclesiis minime agnitum.[5]

3) Ex evangelio illo Petrino sive secundum Hebraeos derivari oportere censet *Crednerus*[6] locos quosdam e memorabilibus apostolorum allatos, qui pariter vel similiter ab evangeliis canonicis discrepantes in *Homiliis Pseudo-Clementinis* reperiuntur. Legimus *Matth.* XXV, 41 secundum textum vulgatum: *Τότε ἐρεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ εὐωνύμων· Πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*

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1 Cfr. *Bindemannum* l. c. p. 407 sq. *Luthardtum* l. c. p. 316 sq. *Holtzmannum*, *Die synoptischen Evangelien.* p. 372.

2 L. c. p. 151 sq.

3 L. c. p. 290 sq.

4 Cfr. *Ottonem* ad h. l.

5 Cfr. *Thierschium* l. c. p. 375—378.

6 L. c. p. 211 sq. 248 sqq. Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 225 sqq.

οἱ κατηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ. Justinus (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 76, p. 258) vero ita habet: *Καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις, οἷς καταδικάζειν τοὺς ἀναξίους μὴ σώζεσθαι μέλλει, ἔφη ἐρεῖν· Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.* Similiter *Homiliae* quae dicuntur *Clementis* XIX, 2: *Καὶ ἄλλῃ που εἶπε· ὑπέσχετο τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν· Ὑπάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.* Justinus et Clementina consentiunt in lectionibus 1) *ὑπάγετε* pro *πορεύεσθε*, 2) *τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον* pro *τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον*, 3) *ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ* pro *τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον*. Sed verba *ὑπάγετε* et *ὃ ἡτοίμασεν* e prisco evangelii Matthaei textu desumpta esse posse, codex Sinaiticus (א) et Cantabrigiensis (D), Latini antiquissimi, Irenaeus et Origenes testificantur.[1] Restant igitur sola verba *τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον*, de qua lectionis varietate antequam judicium faciamus aliam discrepantiam contemplari juvat.

Effatum illud, quod in evangeliis synopticis maxime ad similitudinem Joannei accedit, *Matth.* XI, 27 ita legitur: *Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.* Aliter apud *Justinum, Apol.* I, 63 bis: *οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ υἱός.* Et simillime *Hom. Clem.* XVIII, 13: *οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.* Hoc loco Justinus cum Clementinis in aoristo *ἔγνω* et in transpositione sententiarum a textu Matthaei nobis tradito discedit. Neque tamen inde sequitur, eos communiter evangelio quodam apo-

[1] Cfr. *Tischendorfii* editionem N. T. VIII. ad h. l.

crypho usos esse. Etenim *a*) *Justinus* quoque semel in *cap.* 100 *Dialogi c. Tr.* (p. 334) praesens γινώσκει habet ibidemque verba *πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός* eum hic a Matthaeo mutuari ostendunt. *b*) Eadem sententiarum transpositio apud *Tertullianum* quoque (*Adv. Marc.* II, 23) et bis apud *Irenaeum*, septies apud *Epiphanium* invenitur[1], unde manifestum est, textum Matthaei hoc loco jam antiquitus variasse. Tam antiquae textus varietati etiam lectio *τὸ ἐξώτερον σκότος*, quae apud alios quoque patres invenitur, deberi videtur. At vero etiamsi concedendum esset, Justinum nonnunquam evangelium sec. Hebraeos allegasse, inde tamen non esset argumentandum, memorabilia apostolorum non esse quadriforme evangelium canonicum. Nam verisimillimum est, ipsum evangelium secundum Hebraeos nihil aliud fuisse nisi evangelium Matthaei hebraice translatum et hic illic interpolatum, atque in errore versatum esse *Hieronymum*, qui evangelium hebraicum a Nazaraeis acceptum pro archetypo habebat Matthaeo, quem quidem evangelium suum hebraice scripsisse traditum est, sed certis argumentis probari nequit.[2]

4) Collegit *Crednerus* multas allegationum Justini a textu Matthaei translaticio discrepantias, quae non nisi ex evangelio illo Petrino profluere potuerint. Sed hae discrepantiae explicari possunt e libera citandi ratione, qua Justinum usum esse inde cognoscitur, quod locos evangelicos afferens minime secum constat, sed eos variis locis varie, partim valde diverse

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[1] Cfr. *Tischendorfii* ed. N. T. VIII. ad h. l.

[2] Cfr. *Fr. Delitzschium*, *Neue Untersuchungen über Entstehung und Anlage der kanonischen Evangelien.* 1853. *Koestlinium*, *Der Ursprung und die Composition der synoptischen Evangelien.* 1853. p. 121 sqq. *Bleekium*, *Einleitung in das N. T.* 1862. p. 97 sqq. *Holtzmannum*, *Die synoptischen Evangelien.* 1863. p. 267. *Bunsenii Bibelwerk.* T. VIII. 1866. p. 547. *Keimium* l. c. I, p. 297. *Grauium*, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des neutestamentlichen Schriftthums.* 1871. I, p. 265 sqq.

allegat.[1] Negari quidem nequit, Justinum in nonnullis locis semper eodem modo a textu synoptico discedere[2]; at nonne quaedam Scripturae dicta ad suum arbitrium immutata memoriae ejus se infigere poterant?[3] Accedit quod ab aliis quoque patribus loci evangeliorum simili libertate proferuntur.[4] *Semischius* contra Crednerum luculente comprobavit, etiam canone jam stabilito patres in enuntiatis et factis Christi referendis non anxie ad evangelia se applicare et apud eos quoque patres, qui plus minus accurate textum canonicum sequantur, velut apud Irenaeum et Cyprianum, miras textus variationes reperiri adeoque saepenumero quasdam ab evangeliis nostris digressiones in variis ejusdem patris libris eandem formam habere.[5] Denique considerandum est locos quoque Veteris Testamenti a Justino saepe libere afferri.[6] Accidit et in Apologiis et in Dialogo, ut nomina auctorum commutet[7] et eadem Veteris Testamenti dicta variet, non raro etiam variorum auctorum Veteris Testamenti dicta contexit.[8]

5) *Crednero* plurimum favere videntur quaedam narrationes, quae apud Justinum reperiuntur. Refert enim *a*) Jesum

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[1] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 281—293.
[2] Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 224.
[3] Cfr. *Mynsterum* l. c. p. 31 sq. *Bindemannum* l. c. p. 408. 434.
[4] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 218—232. *Luthardtum* l. c. p. 86 sq.
[5] L. c. p. 330—333.
[6] Cfr. *Semischium* l. c. p. 239—273.
[7] In *Apologia priori* Zephanja nominatur loco Sachariae c. 35, p. 212; Jeremias loco Danielis c. 51, p. 238; Jesaias loco Jeremiae c. 53, p. 242. — In *Dialogo* Jeremias loco Jesaiae c. 12, p. 42; Hosea loco Sachariae c. 14, p. 52; Sacharia loco Malachiae c. 49, p. 156.
[8] Praeclarissimum hujus rei exemplum est locus *Apol.* I, 52, p. 240, ubi loci Sach. II, 6. VI, 6. XII, 10—12. Ps. XCI, 11 sq. Joel II, 12 sq. Jes. LXIII, 17. LXIV, 11 solo Sacharia quasi unico eorum auctore nominato compositi sunt, ut spectaculum horae illius, qua Christus gloria majestatis circumdatus alterum suum in urbem sacram adventum celebrabit, nobis ante oculos ponant.

in specu natum esse (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 78, p. 264); *b*) Magos ex Arabia venisse (*ibid.* p. 262); *c*) Jesum domi aratra et juga more fabri tignarii fabricatum esse (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 88, p. 306); *d*) cum baptizaretur ignem apparuisse (*Ibid.* p. 302); *e*) pullum asinum, in quo veheretur, ad vitem alligatum fuisse (*Apol.* I, 32, p. 204); *f*) Jesum ludificationis causa in tribunali collocatum eique acclamatum esse: *κρῖνον ἡμῖν* (*Apol.* I, 35, p. 210); *g*) Jesum dixisse: *ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις. καὶ κρινῶ* (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 47, p. 154); *h*) vaticinatum eum esse: *ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἱρέσεις* (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 35, p. 114). Horum nonnulla e Vetere Testamento conclusa sunt, velut e Ps. LXX, 10 et Jes. LX, 6 magos ex Arabia venisse et e Gen. XLIX, 11 pullum asini, in quo Jesus vectus est, ad vitem alligatum fuisse; alia traditioni deberi videntur, velut Jesum in specu natum esse; alia denique ex hoc illove evangelio apocrypho petita esse non infitiamur. Sed Crednero objicimus, primum nullibi Justinum quidquam illorum in evangeliis canonicis non scriptorum auctoritate *τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων* munire; deinde si quae ex evangelio quodam apocrypho decerpserit inde non sequi, eum inter evangelia canonica et apocrypha non distinxisse.[1] Urget *Crednerus*[2] locum illum *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 88, p. 202: *Καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν, ἔνθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.* Hoc loco *Crednerus* dicit scripturam illam, in qua species illa ignea et verba Dei coelitus desonantia: *Υἱός μου εἶ σύ·*

[1] Cfr. *Apol.* I, 35, p. 210: *Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθαι μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἄκτων.*

[2] L. c. p. 210 sq.

ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε (*ibid.* p. 308) tradita sint, h. e. evangelium Judaeochristianorum a Justino memorabilibus apostolorum adnumerari. Verum est, in evangelio Ebionitarum, uti *Epiphanius* refert, narratum exstitisse, baptizato Jesu ingens lumen locum circumcirca illuminasse.[1] At primum aliud est, quamquam simile, quod Justinus refert, Jesu in aquam descendente ignem in Jordane effulsisse. Deinde nihil nos cogit, ut verba ἔγραψαν κτλ. ad totam sententiam extendamus; imo vero Justinus verborum structura subindicare videtur, alteram tantum sententiae partem e memorabilibus apostolorum desumtam esse. Ita jam *Grabius*[2] verba Justini interpretatus est, eumque *Otto*[3] et *Semischius*[4] secuti sunt.[5] Si quis verba illa ἔγραψαν κτλ. ad omnia, quae Justinus narrat, referri oportere arbitretur, fieri poterat, ut Justinus ea, quae in memorabilibus apostolorum h. e. quadriformi evangelio apostolico leguntur, et ea, quae sive traditio sive evangelium Hebraeorum ipsi suppeditaverat, vel consulto vel per lapsum memoriae commisceret.

6) *Crednerus* eo progreditur, ut Justinum aperte evangeliis nostris contradicere affirmet. Duobus exemplis hoc probare conetur. Primum *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 103, p. 346, ubi narratur, ne unum quidem hominem Jesu cum comprehenderetur auxilio

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[1] V. *Angeri* Synopsin p. 22.

[2] In *Spicilegio patrum* I, p. 19 sq.: Justinus ipsa verborum constructione quasi studio indicasse videtur, verba *scripserunt apostoli* posteriorem tantum propositionem de columbae descensu, quem Matthaeus et Joannes apostoli memoriae prodiderant, non item priorem de igne splendescente spectare, siquidem illa solum in modo infinitivo expressa ad τὸ Scripserunt relationem habet, non prior, quae in modo indicativo posita est, ideoque merito in impressis exemplaribus per colon distincta.

[3] Ad h. l.

[4] L. c. p. 408 sq.

[5] Etiam *Hilgenfeldus*, *Kritische Untersuchungen* p. 164 huic verborum interpretationi non adversatur.

venisse[1], cum nostra evangelia narrent, Petrum Domino tempore illo succurrisse. Hic Justinum propterea de Petro silere contendit *Crednerus*, quia evangelium Petrinum excandescentiae ejus consulto nullam mentionem fecerit.[2] At sine dubio auxilium illud Jesu a Petro latum ei non ignotum erat, sed propterea silentio praeteriit, quia jure ipsum pro nullo auxilio habebat et vaticinium Ps. XXII, 12 tempore passionis Jesu impletum esse demonstrare volebat. — Alteram Justini cum evangeliis canonicis dissensionem hanc esse *Crednerus* existimat: Justinum narrare, Jesu in captivitatem abducto discipulos ejus de missione magistri Messiana dubitasse, sed nihil de hac dubitatione in evangeliis nostris traditum esse.[3] At Justinus talem dubitationem non magis novit quam evangelia illa. Nam verba ejus *Μετὰ οὖν τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ γνώριμοι αὐτοῦ πάντες ἀπέστησαν, ἀρνησάμενοι αὐτόν* (*Apol.* I, 50, p. 236) id tantum gravissime reprehendunt, quod omnes Jesu discipuli praeter Joannem pavore commoti magistrum crucifixum deseruerint.

His quae adhuc diximus satis probasse nobis videmur, nihil obstare, quominus *ἀπομνημονεύματα* Justini non diversa esse censeamus ab evangeliis quatuor in canonem receptis, quorum duo *ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων*, duo *ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων* (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 103, p. 348) conscripta sunt, ita ut ea, quae *Justinus* de illis memorabilibus ait, respondeant partitioni evangeliorum *Tertullianeae* (*Adv. Marc.* IV, 2): „Constituimus evangelicum instrumentum *apostolos* auctores ha-

1 *Οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὑμῶν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν αἴτιοι ἦσαν τοῦ ἐξελθόντας εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἄγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βοηθῶν* (Ps. XXII, 11) *δηλωτικὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦ γενομένου. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, οὐδὲ μέχρις ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου, βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀναμαρτήτῳ βοηθὸς ὑπῆρχε.*

2 L. c. p. 228. 261.

3 L. c. p. 257.

bere . . . . . . Si et *apostolicos*, non tamen solos, sed cum apostolis et per apostolos . . . . Fidem nobis ex apostolis Joannes et Matthaeus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant."

Quatuor evangelia aetate Justini auctoritatem canonicam nacta esse testificantur insuper 1) *Fragmentum Muratorianum,* non multo post Pii episcopi Romani tempus h. e. inter annos 160 et 170 conscriptum, quod libros Novi Testamenti antiquissimis temporibus pro canonicis habitos recensens a quatuor evangeliis initium facit. 2) Versio Syriaca vetus, quae *Peschîto* vocatur, et *Itala,* quarum prior exeunte saeculo secundo, altera ut videtur jam eo medio composita est. Hae versiones non ortae sunt nisi canonica quatuor evangeliorum auctoritate dudum stabilita.

Objicere quis possit, Justinum a partibus Judaeochristianorum stare, ita ut quid aliae ecclesiae de evangeliis statuerint, ex illius scriptis cognosci nequeat. At primum improbamus id quod schola Tubingensis commenta est, antiquissimam ecclesiam rudem indigestamque molem factionum et sectarum fuisse; deinde haud temere judicamus, Justinum Flavia Neapoli natum, Ephesi fortasse christianum factum (*Euseb.* h. e. IV, 18), Cumis (*Coh. ad. Gr.* c. 37) et Romae (*Apol.* II, 3) versatum catholicae ecclesiae suorum temporum personam sustinere.[1]

Nunc demum convenienter commentationis nostrae proposito sciscitamur: *Utrum Justinus memorabilibus apostolorum inspirationem tribuerit.*

Si demonstrare nobis contigit, jam Pseudo-Barnabam evangelium Matthaei et Ignatium collectionem scriptionum evangelicarum atque universam illius aetatis ecclesiam quatuor

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[1] Cfr. *Luthardtum* l c. p. 358—360. *Bindemannum* l. c p. 382—395.

evangelia libris Veteris Testamenti aequiparasse, exspectare debemus, Justinum memorabilia apostolorum eodem loco habiturum esse. Videamus, quibusnam argumentis plerique hoc negaverint:

1) *Crednerus* dicit, nomen *ἀπομνημονευμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων* compositionem evangeliorum non ad divinum Spiritum, sed ad solam recordationem apostolorum referre, quod quidem nomen abrogari oportuerit, quum evangelia auctoritatem canonicam nanciscerentur.[1] Sed hunc evangeliorum titulum non ecclesiae communem, sed Justini proprium fuisse, hic ipse dicit *Apol.* I, 66, p. 268: *οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια.* Justinus, philosophiae Platonicae discipulus, nomen illud ad similitudinem memorabilium Socratis Xenophonteorum finxit et nomini *εὐαγγελίων* substituit. Atque verum est, ea quae evangelia continent e recordatione (*ἀναμνήσει*) apostolorum hausta esse. Sed sicut Dominus ipse recordationem a Spiritu divino suggerendam promisit (*Joan.* XIV, 26), sic Justinum quoque efficaciam Dei ab evangeliorum origine non exclusisse credendum est.

2) Urget *Crednerus* diversam rationem, quam Justinus in libris Veteris Testamenti et memorabilibus afferendis sequitur. Scripta enim Veteris Testamenti allegantem eum quasi de industria divinam eorum originem indicare; in allegandis vero memorabilibus simile quid non inveniri. Legimus enim haec memorabilia ita allegata: *Ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γέγραπται εἰπών* *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 100, p. 334. — *Καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ γεγραμμένον αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες* (*ibid.* p. 336). — *ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέ-*

[1] L. c. p. 105 sq. Cfr. *Schweglerum* l. c. p. 227. *Scholtenium* l. c. p. 22.

γραπται (c. 101, p. 340). — ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδήλωται (c. 102, p. 344). — ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ γέγραπται γενόμενον (c. 104, p. 350). — ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμάθομεν (c. 105, p. 352). — ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον (*ibid.* p. 354). — ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται (*ibid.*). — ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων δηλοῦται γεγενημένον (c. 106, p. 356). Has formulas dicit *Crednerus* a solemnibus formulis, quibus Justinus in laudandis Veteris Testamenti locis usus sit, alienissimas vix differre ab ejus auctores graecos allegandi ratione, velut: ἀκούσατε καὶ Σωφοκλέους οὕτως λέγοντος (*Coh. ad Gr.* c. 18, p. 36). — καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς πολιτείας (Πλάτων) γέγραφε λόγῳ (c. 26, p. 76). — οὕτω γὰρ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραφε (ibid.)[1] At Justinus uno certe loco memorabilia allegat solemni formulâ γέγραπται, *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 111, p. 370: Καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάσχα συνελάβετε αὐτὸν καὶ ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ πάσχᾳ ἐσταυρώσατε, γέγραπται. Allegat quidem aliquoties locos Pentateuchicos simili modo quo vaticinia; sed interdum etiam ita, ut personam Mosis primo loco collocet: γέγραφε Μωσῆς ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότος οὕτως (*Coh. ad Gr.* c. 29, p. 88) vel τὸ Μωσέως οὕτω περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς σημαίνει γράμμα (*ibid.*). At ne potest quidem memorabilia apostolorum eodem modo quo locos Pentateuchicos afferre. Nam si memorabilia apostolorum tamquam unam Jesu imaginem, unum librum, unum evangelium (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 100, p. 334) vel, ut Irenaei verbis utar, tamquam τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον, ἑνὶ πνεύματι συνεχόμενον considerat, et ob id ipsum scriptorum nomina praetermittit, quis non videt ne potuisse quidem Justinum locum quendam me-

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[1] De inspiratione p. 55 sq. *Beiträge* I, p. 126 sq. Cfr. *Landererum* l. c. p. 275.

morabilium afferre his fere verbis: *Ἐξηγούμενος διὰ Ματθαίου, Λουκᾶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως φησί* vel *εἴρηται γάρ που διὰ Ἰωάννου οὕτως*? Necesse erat, ut ea ita allegaret uti locum quendam prioris Regum libri, cujus auctor ignotus est: *Ἔνθα ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βασιλειῶν ἱστορίᾳ γέγραπται* (*Coh. ad Gr.* c. 31, p. 92).

3) *Crednerus* persuadere nobis tentat, ne indiguisse quidem Justinum evangeliis inspiratis, cum expresse dicat, historiae et doctrinae evangelicae fidem se habere, quia quaecunque in evangeliis narrentur in prophetarum libris sint praedicta[1], non propterea, quod apostolorum scriptis ex semet ipsis auctoritas divina competat.[2] At non reputat indolem librorum illorum, qui ad nos pervenerunt, apologeticam. Justino veritatem religionis christianae contra Judaeos et gentiles defensuro e Vetere Testamento, quod Judaei amplectebantur atque etiam gentiles propter summam antiquitatem et translationem Alexandrinam venerabantur, magis quam e Novo argumentandum erat. Merito igitur *Thierschius*[3] quaerit, quonam jure morosi illi critici ponant, libros Justini antihaereticos[4] eandem rationem ad Novum Testamentum habuisse quam apologeticos.

4) Sed *Crednerus* eo usque procedit, ut asseveret, ne potuisse quidem Justinum inspirationem memorabilium conce-

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[1] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 48, p. 156: *ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπείοις διδάγμασι κεκελεύσμεθα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι᾽ αὐτοῦ διδαχθεῖσι.* *Apol.* I, 33, p. 208: *ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν, οἷς ἐπιστεύσαμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ διὰ Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα τοῦτο γενησόμενον, ὡς προεμηνύομεν, ἔφη.* Cfr. *Apol.* I, 53, p. 240.

[2] De inspiratione p. 56 sq. *Beiträge* I, p. 128 sq. Cfr. *Landererum* l. c. p. 275.

[3] *Versuch zur Herstellung etc.* p. 381.

[4] *Κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων* (*Apol.* I, 26, p. 194) et *κατὰ Μαρκίωνος*, quem quidem librum *Irenaeus* (*Adv. haer.* IV, 14) commemorat.

dere. Nam quum apostolos *ἀπομνημονεύσαντας πάντα* nominet, omnia evangelia tunc per ecclesiam dispersa pro inspiratis ei habenda fuisse; hoc vero eum non potuisse, quia consensum doctrinae criterium divinae librorum originis praecipuum esse censuerit, evangelia autem illa numerosa permultum inter se discrepaverint.[1] Hoc argumentum falsae illi Credneri sententiae de memorabilibus apostolorum innititur. Sane etiam quatuor evangelia non in omnibus consentiunt. At primum supra demonstravimus, mirum illum consensum, e quo Justinus inspirationem Veteris Testamenti evincit, non immunitate Scripturae a minima quoque differentia, sed perfecta ejus in omnibus rebus, quae ad salutem pertinent, harmonia contineri. Deinde ex *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 111, p. 370: *Καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάσχα συνελάβετε αὐτὸν καὶ ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ πάσχᾳ ἐσταυρώσατε, γέγραπται* (cfr. *Apol.* I, 67, p. 270: *τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν*) conspicitur, Justinum non sicut criticos nostrae aetatis venatum ivisse, ut quatuor evangeliorum dissonantias indagaret. Minime inde sequitur, eum evangelii Joannei nullam notitiam habuisse.[2]

Nihil igitur obstat, Justinum memorabilibus apostolorum inspirationem tribuisse; imo certis argumentis confirmatur. Illustri illo loco *Apol.* I, 67, p. 268. 270 Justinus de coetibus christianorum sacris ita refert: *Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται.* Ecce memorabilia aposto-

[1] *Beiträge* I, p. 129 sq.

[2] Contra *Scholtenium* l. c. p. 29.

lorum eodem honore quo *συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν* habita! *Volkmarus* hujus loci pondus attenuaturus contendit, hoc tantum dici, non solum Justinum sed etiam magnam ecclesiae partem aliquot evangelia nisi divina et canonica tamen apostolicae doctrinae convenientia et praelectione digna duxisse.[1] Et revera in nonnullis ecclesiis non solum libri Novi Testamenti canonici, sed etiam alia scripta praelegebantur, velut epistola Clementis Romani ad Corinthios, quae non modo in ecclesia Corinthiaca jam multo ante medium saeculum alterum, sed etiam in nonnullis aliis ecclesiis usque in Eusebii aetatem anagnosi digna habebatur (*Euseb.* h. e. III, 16). At eum morem in universa ecclesia obtinuisse ostendi non potest. Justinus certe de eo silet. Quaeritur etiam, utrum scripta illa quavis die dominica sicuti libri canonici an certis intervallis, fortasse hoc illove anni die praelegi solita sint, uti traditur, revelationem Petri die parasceves paschalis recitatam esse.[2] Ceterum usum librorum apocryphorum liturgicum christianis severius judicantibus offensioni factum esse, e canone Muratoriano apparet, qui Pastorem Hermae privatae tantum lectioni commendatum a libris in ecclesia praelegendis secernit.[3] Jure ergo statuere possumus, Justinum memorabilia apostolorum ab ipso iuxta scripta Veteris Testamenti collocata pari et aequali honore dignatum esse. Modo conferas *Apol.* I, 28, p. 196: *παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ὁ ἀρχηγέτης κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφις*

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[1] *Ueber Justin den Märtyrer und sein Verhältniss zu unsren Evangelien.* p. 140.

[2] Cfr. *Thierschium* l. c. p. 373 sqq.

[3] Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma (l. Hermas) conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo, fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, sed publicare vero in ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas completum (l. completos) numero, neque inter Apostolos in finem temporum potest. Cfr. *Wieselerum*, *Ueber den sogenannten Kanon von Muratori. Studien und Kritiken.* 1856. I. p. 91 sq.

καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων ἐρευνήσαντες μαθεῖν δύνασθε, et *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 103, p. 348: τὸν διάβολον, ὃν Μωϋσῆς μὲν ὄφιν καλεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰὼβ καὶ τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ διάβολος κέκληται, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σατανᾶς προσηγόρευται. Nonne ex hoc altero loco apparet, priori scripta Veteris Testamenti una cum memorabilibus apostolornm τὰ ἡμέτερα συγγράμματα nominari?

Sane si quaerere velimus, qualem concursum divinum Justinus in conscribendis his evangeliis statuerit, nihil certi hac de re dicere habemus. Hoc unum constat, Justinum evangelia pro fidis et veris historiae sacrae imaginibus ope divina compositis habuisse. Sed haec de memorabilibus apostolorum satis sunto. Superest, ut inquiramus: *Utrum Justinus etiam apostolicas epistolas canonica auctoritate sancitas noverit eisque inspirationem tribuerit.*

Negari nequit, Justini scripta paene nullius libri Novi Testamenti rationem habere nisi evangeliorum. Disertis verbis sola Apocalypsis tamquam divinitus revelata commemoratur (*Dial. c. Tr.* c. 81, p. 278: Ἰωάννης ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ προεφήτευσεν); sed epistolarum nulla mentio fit; modo reperiuntur aliquot Paulinarum epistolarum recordationes [1] et una epistolae ad Hebraeos.[2] Recordationes aliorum Novi Testamenti librorum, quas *Otto* collegit,[3] tam incertae sunt, ut

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[1] Cfr. *Ottonem*, *Beziehungen auf paulinische Briefe bei Justin dem Märtyrer und dem Verfasser des Briefes an Diognet. Illgenii Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie.* 1842. p. 41—58. 1843. p. 34—46.

[2] *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 13, p. 44: πάλαι τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ σωτήριον λοῦτρον ἦν, ὃ εἶπε, τὸ τοῖς μεταγινώσκουσι καὶ μηκέτι αἵμασι τράγων καὶ προβάτων ἢ σποδῷ δαμάλεως ἢ σεμιδάλεως προσφοραῖς καθαριζομένους. Cfr. *Hebr.* IX, 13.

[3] L. c. p. 40—43. Cfr. Indicem locorum, quem *Otto* operibus Justini addidit.

vix quidquam probare possint. Sed exstant quidem duo loci, quibus Justinus ad apostolorum epistolas in universum tamquam ad Verbum divinum respicere videatur: *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 119, p. 396: *ἡμεῖς τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ διά τε τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαληθείσῃ πάλιν καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυχθείσῃ ἡμῖν, πιστεύσαντες μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπεταξάμεθα.* Et *Dial. c. Tr.* c. 9, p. 36: *δείξω ὅτι οὐ κενοῖς ἐπιστεύσαμεν μύθοις, οὐδὲ ἀναποδείκτοις λόγοις, ἀλλὰ μεστοῖς πνεύματος θείου καὶ δυνάμει βρύουσι καὶ τεθηλόσι χάριτι.* At nihil impedit, quominus credamus, Justinum his locis oralem apostolorum praedicationem in mente habere. Quare neque imposita est nobis necessitas negandi neque data potestas comprobandi, Justinum, qui maximam ecclesiae partem peragravit, omnia illa *ὁμολογούμενα*, quae canon Muratorianus continet, novisse et pari ac scripta Veteris Testamenti honore prosecutum esse. Considerari vero oportet finem librorum Justini superstitum apologeticum. Justinus ubique, praesertim in Apologiis, omnia a Christo tamquam principio deducit et propterea verbis evangeliorum et oraculis prophetarum fulcit, quae ambo fundamentum institutionis christianae erant. Ex his, quae modo diximus, etiam cognoscitur, cur *Apol.* I, 67 praeter memorabilia alia insuper scripta Novi Testamenti non commemorentur. Non adstipulamur *Thierschio*[1], qui illo loco *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα* pro communi omnium librorum Novi Testamenti nomine habet. Nam ubicunque Justinus memorabilium apostolorum mentionem facit, evangelia tantum in animo habet. Imo, quia antea de libris tantum propheticis et evangelicis locutus iisque usus est tamquam fundamento eruditionis et doctrinae christianae, memorabilia sola commemorat et epistolas apostolorum praetermittit.

[1] L. c. p. 355.

Justinum excipiant Tatianus et Athenagoras, qui Scripturam Novi Testamenti rarissime adhibent. **Tatianus** semel Joan. I, 5 praemissis verbis *καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον* (c. 13, p. 60), semel Joan. I, 3 sine solemni formula (c. 19, p. 88) affert. Memorabile est, discipulum illius Justini, cui evangelium Joannis notum fuisse critici quidam negant, duos Novi Testamenti locos, quos solos laudat, e Joannis evangelio desumsisse. Verba *καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον* ostendunt, eum evangelium Joannis pro parte Scripturae sacrae habuisse.[1] Sed ceteris quoque evangeliis eundem honorem tribuit. *Crednerus*[2] quidem probare conatus est, etiam *Diatessaron* illud, quod Eusebius[3], Epiphanius[4], Theodoretus[5], Dionysius Bar-Salibi (mort. ao. 1171)[6] Tatiano assignant, Petrinum evangelium fuisse, praesertim quum *Epiphanius* ita de eo scribat: *λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ καθ' Ἑβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσιν.* At primum nomen ipsum *τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον* refellit istam sententiam; porro Epiphanii verba hoc tantum docent, Diatessaron Tatiani, quippe in quo largus evangelii Hebraeorum usus compareret, cum hoc ipso a quibusdam esse commutatum; postremo Crednero non contigit labefactare hoc *Dionysii* testimonium: „Tatianus, Justini Martyris ac Philosophi discipulus, ex quatuor

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1 *Crednerus* (*Beiträge* I, p. 48) hoc temere negavit. Tatiani aetate evangeliis divinam auctoritatem tributam esse etiam altera *Clementis Romani* epistola, quae aetate Marci Aurelii orta est (cfr. *Hilgenfeldum*, *Die apostolischen Väter* p. 115 sqq.), nobis demonstrat. Ibi enim effatis Christi (Luc. XVI, 10 sq. Matth. IX, 13) cap. VIII formula *λέγει γὰρ κύριος ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ* et cap. II formula *καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφὴ λέγει* praemittitur.

2 *Beiträge* I, p. 437—451.

3 *H. e.* IV, 29.

4 *Haer.* XLVI, 1.

5 *Fabul. haeret.* I, 20.

6 *Bibl. orient.* T. II, p. 158.

evangeliis unum digessit, quod Diatessaron nuncupavit. Hunc librum S. Ephrem commentariis illustravit, cujus initium: *In principio erat verbum.*" [1] Sed quid hac de re plura verba faciamus? *Crednerus* ipse hoc maxime urget, Tatianum ex eodem fonte ac Justinum magistrum hausisse.[2]

Athenagoras in apologia sua doctrinae christianae testimonia magis e Vetere quam e Novo Testamento capit. In libello *περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν* hoc tantum agit, ut resurrectionem mortuorum argumentis e ratione sola petitis probet. Semel tantum (c. 18) Paulum testem citat dicens: *δεῖ κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο καὶ σκεδαστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν, ἵνα .... ἕκαστος κομίσηται δικαίως ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξεν, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε κακά* (cfr. I Cor. XV, 53 et II Cor. V, 10). An vero epistolas Paulinas sacris Scripturis annumeraverit, inde non cognoscitur, etsi hac de re minime dubitamus. Neque inde, quod praecepta christianorum ethica *θεόφατα καὶ θεοδίδακτα δόγματα* nominat,[4] probari potest, eum inspirationem librorum Novi Testamenti docuisse; nam praecepta illa propterea quod a Christo, Dei filio, data sunt ita nominare poterat.

Jam procedimus ad **Theophilum Antiochenum**, apologetarum secundi saeculi ultimum. Hunc in tribus libris ad Autolycum

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[1] Ne *Volkmarus* quidem (*Der Ursprung unsrer Evangelien.* p. 35) huic testimonio fidem derogat.

[2] Diatessaron e Tatiani quatuor evangeliis canonicis compositum fuisse *Daniel* (*Tatianus der Apologet.* 1837. p. 87—111) et *Semischius* (Tatiani Diatessaron, antiquissimum N. T. evangeliorum in unum digestorum specimen 1856) fuse comprobaverunt.

[3] Cfr. c. 11, p. 230: *Δεικτέον ἀληθῆ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως λόγον ἀπό τε τῆς αἰτίας αὐτῆς, καθ' ἣν καὶ δι' ἣν ὁ πρῶτος γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οἵ τε μετ' ἐκεῖνον, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον γεγόνασι τρόπον, ἀπό τε τῆς κοινῆς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὡς ἀνθρώπων φύσεως, ἔτι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις κρίσεως.*

[4] *Suppl. pro chr.* c. 11, p. 50: *δι' αὐτῶν τῶν δογμάτων, οἷς προσέχο-*

Novi Testamenti scripturis inspirationem tribuere in oculos incurrit. Legimus enim *lib.* III, c. 12: *ἀκόλουθα εὑρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἑνὶ πνεύματι λελαληκέναι.* Et *lib.* II, c. 22: *ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης λέγει· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος κτλ.* Et quemadmodum locos Veteris Testamenti praemissis verbis *ὁ προφήτης λέγει* et similibus affert, ita ex evangeliis dictitans *ἡ εὐαγγέλιος φωνὴ διδάσκει λέγουσα*[1] vel *τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν φησι.*[2] Etiam a Paulo dicta tamquam Verbum divinum inculcat: *ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις κελεύει ἡμᾶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, καὶ διδάσκει ἀποδιδόναι πᾶσι τὰ πάντα, τῷ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν τιμήν, τῷ τὸν φόβον τὸν φόβον, τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον, μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλειν ἢ μόνον τὸ ἀγαπᾶν πάντας* (III, 14 cfr. I Tim. II, 2. Rom. XIII, 7 sqq.). Verum quid de modo inspirationis Novi Testamenti statuerit, libri ejus non patefaciunt.

Pervenimus ad finem commentationis nostrae. Summa ejus haec est:

1) Vetus Testamentum esse Verbum Dei ab hominibus literis mandatum patres ad unum omnes firmiter tenent. De modo autem inspirationis patres apostolici nihil certi ajunt, fides tantummodo ratiocinatione destituta et pius quasi instinctus eos ad hoc Verbum adstringit. At apologetae, qui in Scriptura veritatem diu quaesitam invenerant, divinam

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μεν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπικοῖς οὖσιν, ἀλλὰ θεοφάτοις καὶ θεοδιδάκτοις, πεῖσαι ἡμᾶς μὴ ὡς περὶ ἀθέων ἔχειν δυνάμεθα. Τίνες οὖν οἱ λόγοι, οἷς ἐντρεφόμεθα; Λέγω ὑμῖν· ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους κτλ. Matth. V, 44 sq. Luc. VI, 27 sq.

[1] III, 13, p. 220.

[2] III, 14, p. 222.

ipsius originem contra discordem gentilium sapientiam e vaticiniis et miro auctorum sacrorum consensu evincunt ac certam inspirationis notionem, sive mechanicam sive manticam, proponunt.

2) Novi Testamenti libris jam ante medium saeculum secundum divina auctoritas tributa est. Etenim in epistola Barnabae evangelium Matthaei tamquam scriptura sacra allegatur. Ignatius evangelia et apostolorum epistolas novit et scripturis Veteris Testamenti aequiparat. Item a Justino memorabilia apostolorum i. e. quadriforme evangelium eodem honore quo libri Veteris Testamenti habentur. Omnino verisimile est, ineunte regno Hadriani omnes illos libros, qui postea *ὁμολογούμενα* nuncupabantur, usu ecclesiae fuisse sancitos.

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A LECTURE

BY H. L. HASTINGS,

BEFORE THE MASS. ANNUAL CONVENTION OF Y. M. C. ASSOCIATIONS,

At Spencer, October 13, 1881.

The question as to the inspiration of the Bible is not a question raised by me. It is a question that is already up for discussion through the length and breadth of this land. What are we to do with this book? How are we to regard it? Is it the best book in the world, or the worst? Is it a true book, or is it a false one? Is it God's book, or is it man's book?

We find men on all sides of the question. There are persons who tell us this book is a good book—but then, there are others just as good. The Bible is inspired, and so was Plato inspired, so was Socrates, and so is the almanac inspired; in fact, everything is inspired—the book of Mormon, the Koran of Mahomet, the sacred books of the Hindoos and the Chinese;—they have their Bibles, you have yours; all are good, and one is about as good as the other. Shakespeare was inspired, Milton was inspired, Thomas Paine was inspired, and everything and everybody is inspired.

It is not worth while to waste time on false issues. When I open Shakespeare's plays I do not read at the commencement, "Thus saith the Lord God of hosts;" when I turn to Plato's writings I do not read, "Hear ye the word of the Lord;" when I peruse the almanac I do not read, "The word of the Lord came unto me, saying," thus and so. Hence, you see that this Book must be judged by a different standard from all other

books. Over and over again this Book says, "Hear ye the word of the Lord." Now, the message *is* the word of the Lord, or it is a lie. It is the word of the Lord, as it professes to be, or else it is a cheat, a swindle, a humbug, a fraud.

To illustrate: A man tells me that Jesus of Nazareth was a good man; but then, there were other men just as good. He was a spiritual medium; but there are other mediums equally powerful in these days. To be sure, I do not remember any spiritual medium's giving a public dinner, for nothing, to five thousand hungry people! You may have heard of such a "manifestation," but it has not fallen under my notice. I have not heard of a spiritual medium's hushing the winds or calming the storm at sea. I *have* heard of dancing tables and similar operations. I prefer to have my tables *stand still!* [Laughter and applause.]

But while *you* say, "He was simply one of many remarkable men," *He* says, "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world;" and again, "I leave the world, and go to the Father." *He* says, "O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which *I had with thee before the world was.*" Now, do you say he was a good man and yet he *told lies?* What is your idea of a good man? I do not believe that a good man lies; and I do not believe that a man who lies *is* a good man. Perhaps *you* do, and if so, you were brought up in a different way from that in which my father brought me up. So I do not believe that a book packed with lies from one end to the other, is a good book; and I do not want any one to come and tell me that Jesus Christ was a good man, and the Bible is a good book, but neither of them tell the truth. I join issue there. This Book is what it professes to be, or it is a swindle; Jesus of Nazareth was what he professed to be, or he was an impostor.

Suppose a man comes to town and represents himself as the son of a British nobleman. He is well-dressed, has plenty of money, turns the heads of half the young ladies in the town, and makes himself at home generally; but after a while they find out that he is the son of "old Jinkins," the blacksmith, down in the next town. Now, I do not want you to tell me how prettily he behaves, what fine broadcloth he wears, or what a perfect

gentleman he is in all his deportment. The fact is, he is a liar, a fraud, and a scamp. He has come under false colors, and palmed himself off on the community under false pretenses; and the more good things you say about him the less I think of him; because, if he is such a well-educated gentleman, he knows better than to be going around as a fraud, and deceiving the people. So we must accept Jesus of Nazareth and his claims entirely, or else we must reject the whole gospel as an imposture, and as the grandest, most stupendous fraud the world has ever known.

Now, do not be fooled by this soft talk about the Bible being "a good book," and yet just like many other good books. There is not another like it in the world. Let us look at some of its peculiarities:—

Here is one: The Bible is a book which has been refuted, demolished, overthrown, and exploded more times than any other book you ever heard of. Every little while somebody starts up and upsets this book; and it is like upsetting a solid cube of granite. It is just as big one way as the other; and when you have upset it it is right side up, and when you overturn it again it is right side up still. [Applause.] Every little while somebody blows up the Bible; but when it comes down it always lights on its feet, and runs faster than ever through the world. They overthrew the Bible a century ago, in Voltaire's time—entirely demolished the whole thing. "In less than a hundred years," said Voltaire, "Christianity will be swept from existence, and have passed into history." Infidelity ran riot through France, red-handed and impious. A century has passed away. Voltaire's old printing-press, it is said, has since been used to print the word of God; and the very house where he lived has been packed with Bibles from garret to cellar, as a depot for the Bible Society. Thomas Paine demolished the Bible, and finished it off, finally; but after he had crawled despairingly into a drunkard's grave in 1809, the book took such a leap that since that time more than twenty times as many Bibles have been made and scattered through the world as ever were made before, since the creation of man. Up to the year 1800, from four to six million copies of the Scriptures, in some

thirty different languages, comprised all that had been produced since the world began. Eighty years later, in 1880, the statistics of eighty different Bible societies which are now in existence with their unnumbered agencies and auxiliaries, report more than 165,000,000 Bibles, Testaments, and portions of Scripture, with two hundred and six *new* translations, distributed by Bible societies alone since 1804; to say nothing of the unknown millions of Bibles and Testaments which have been issued and circulated by private publishers throughout the world. For a book that has been exploded so many times, this book yet shows signs of considerable life.

I hear of a man traveling around the country exploding this Book and showing up "The Mistakes of Moses," at about two hundred dollars a night. It is easy work to abuse Moses at two hundred dollars a night, especially as Moses is dead, and cannot talk back. It would be worth something after hearing the infidel on "The Mistakes of Moses," to hear Moses on the mistakes of the infidel. When Moses could talk back, he was rather a difficult man to deal with. Pharaoh tried it, and sank like lead beneath the waves. Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, and it is said were buried in the Red Sea. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram tried it, and went down so deep that they have not yet got back. But now Moses is dead, and it is easy to abuse him. It does not take a very brave beast to kick a dead lion.*

But, after all, this book seems to stand abuse, and thrive upon refutation. A few months ago some learned men, after working for a number of years on the revision of the New Testament, finished their work. Having inserted a few modern words instead of others which had become obsolete, made some slight corrections of errors in translation, and rectified from ancient manuscripts some little errors which had been made by copyists in transcribing the book, at last the book was announced as

* It would be interesting to hear a military leader and legislator, like "Moses the man of God," who, after he was *eighty years old*, commanded for forty years an army of six hundred thousand men, emancipating, organizing, and giving laws to a nation which has maintained its existence for more than thirty stormy centuries, give his candid opinion concerning "the mistakes" of a "Colonel" of cavalry, whose military career is said to have included one single engagement, in which "he was chased into a hog-yard, and surrendered to a boy of sixteen;" after which, as soon as exchanged, he heroically resigned his commission in the face of the enemy, subsequently turning his attention to managing a swindling whiskey ring, discussing theology, blaspheming God, and criticising dead men, who cannot answer him.

ready to be issued on a certain day. What was the result? Why, men offered five hundred dollars to get a copy of that Book a little in advance of its publication; and the morning it was published the streets of New York were blockaded with express wagons backed up and waiting for copies of that Book which had been refuted, exploded, and dead and buried for so many years. Millions of copies of that Book were sold as fast as they could be delivered. They telegraphed the whole of that Book from New York to Chicago, for the sake of getting it there to print in a newspaper twenty-four hours in advance of the mail.

A dead book, is it? They would not pay for telegraphing the greatest infidel speech ever delivered in this country, from here to Tophet. This old Book seems to show some signs of life yet. It is like Aaron's rod that budded and blossomed, and is being scattered all over the world.

This Book outlives its foes. If you could gather all the books written against it, you could build a pyramid higher than Bunker Hill Monument. Now and then a man goes to work to refute the Bible; and every time it is done, it has to be done over again the next day or the next year. And then, after its enemies have done their worst, some of its professed friends torture and twist and mystify and misrepresent it. Surely it is no fool of a book if it lives through all that. Infidels have been at work for nearly eighteen hundred years, firing away at it, and making about as much impression upon it as you would shooting boiled peas at Gibralter. [Laughter and applause.].

The fact is, this Book has come into the world, and it seems to have come to stay. It is in the world, and I do not know how you are to get it out. One hundred years ago you might have found that Book in twenty or thirty translations; but now you can find it in from between two and three hundred different versions, most of which have been made in this last progressive, intellectual, nineteenth century. All over the globe it goes; touch any shore and you will find that Book there before you.

And it is a curious fact that most of our skeptical friends contrive to keep very close to where its shadow falls. It does not take a great while to get out of sight of the Bible. You can go, in a very few days, where there are no churches, Sunday-schools,

Young Men's Christian Associations, preachers, deacons, or anything else of the kind—you can "go West." There is little difficulty in getting beyond the reach of the Bible. Your scalp might not be very safe, but you can easily get away from the reach of the Bible. But the infidel, while finding fault with the Bible, takes good care to stay where the Bible is. Why is this?

There was once a vessel wrecked on one of the South Sea islands. There was on board a sailor who had been there before, and who knew that the people were cannibals. And when the ship was wrecked, and they were cast away on this shore, they knew there was no hope for them, for they saw no way to escape. The sailor, however, climbed up on a hill-top to reconnoitre a little. Presently his shipmates saw him swinging his arms in great excitement, and inquired what was the matter. He had seen just over the hill, the *steeple of a meeting-house!* [Applause.] That was what took all the fear of trouble out of his soul. He knew that church-spire made his neck safe on that cannibal island.

Now, infidels know that fact just as well as he did. Years ago, a young infidel was traveling in the West with his uncle, a banker, and they were not a little anxious for their safety when they were forced to stop for a night in a rough way-side cabin. There were two rooms in the house; and when they retired for the night they agreed that the young man should sit with his pistols, and watch until midnight, and then awaken his uncle, who should watch until morning. Presently they peeped through the crack, and saw their host, a rough-looking old man in his bear-skin suit, reach up and take down a book—a Bible; and after reading it awhile, he knelt and began to pray; and then the young infidel began to pull off his coat and get ready for bed. The old man said, "I thought you were going to sit up and watch." But the young man knew there was no need of sitting up, pistol in hand, to watch all night long in a cabin that was hallowed by the word of God, and consecrated by the voice of prayer. Would a pack of cards, a rum-bottle, or a copy of the "Age of Reason" have thus quieted this young man's fears?

Every one knows that where this Book has influence it makes things safe. Why is this? If it were a bad book, we should expect to find it in the hands of the worst men. In New York there was once a kind of rogue's museum—a place where they had all kinds of skeleton-keys, and jimmies, and brass knuckles, and dirks, and pistols, and implements of mischief, which they had taken away from roughs and criminals. Do you suppose there was a single New Testament in the whole kit? Why not? If it were a bad book you would expect a man to have a revolver in one pocket, and a New Testament tucked away in another. There was a row, the other night, and a man broke his wife's head with a—Bible? No! it was a *bottle!* Where the Bible bears sway, the rows and quarrels do not come.

What makes this Book so different from all other books? Whose book is it? Who made it? Infidels have the strangest ideas of that subject. I recollect in Marlboro, Mass., I read in a paper an article written by an infidel, which stated that the Council of Nice in the year 325, compiled the New Testament. They had a lot of Gospels and Epistles, genuine and spurious, and no one could distinguish between the two; so they put them all on the floor, and prayed that the good ones might get up on the communion table and the bad ones stay on the floor; and that was the way that the present New Testament was compiled. And that is the kind of food that the infidels are made to swallow and digest; for that very statement can be found in infidel books now published in Boston. This writer said that this account rested on the authority of Papias, an early Christian bishop. I replied in a lecture, that there was one difficulty about that story—that Papias was dead and buried a hundred and fifty years before the Council of Nice was held; but as they might have got the news from the spirits, that might be no great objection. The man rose to explain, and said that this was not the right Papias, but that it was another Papias, an obscure Christian bishop of the fourth century. I told him I thought he was obscure, so obscure that no one ever heard of him before or since. On investigation it was learned that a German dominie, named John Pappus, preacher in Strasburg, and a professor at Munster, who died in 1610, discovered this story in an

old Greek manuscript entitled "Synodikon," which was written by some old romancer down in the dark ages, about the year 900; for it relates things which occurred as late as 869, or five hundred years after the Council of Nice was dead and buried. And this story, written nobody knows when, where, or by whom, has been swallowed, believed, and published by infidels far and near, as an account of the origin of the New Testament; and the men who believe and peddle such fables call Christians fools for believing the Bible.

I have on one of my library shelves, between twenty and thirty volumes, containing about twelve thousand pages of the writings of different Christian authors who wrote *before* A. D. 325, when the Council of Nice was held. These books are full of Scripture. Those writers had the same books which we have; they quoted the same passages which we quote; they quoted from the same books from which we quote.

Origen, who wrote a hundred years before the Council of Nice, quotes five thousand seven hundred and forty-five passages from all the books in the New Testament; Tertullian, A. D. 200, makes more than three thousand quotations from the New Testament books; Clement, A. D. 194, quotes three hundred and eighty passages; Irenæus, A. D. 178, quotes seven hundred and sixty-seven passages; Polycarp, who was martyred A. D. 165, after having served Christ eighty-six years, in a single epistle quoted thirty-six passages; Justin Martyr, A. D. 140, also quotes from the New Testament; to say nothing of heathen and infidel writers like Celsus, A. D. 150, and Porphyry, A. D. 304, who referred to and quoted multitudes of the very passages now found in the Scriptures which we have. Indeed, Lord Hailes, of Scotland, having searched the writings of the Christian Fathers to the end of the third century, actually found the *whole of the New Testament*, with the exception of less than a dozen verses, scattered through their writings which are still extant; so that, if at the time of the Council of Nice every copy of the New Testament had been annihilated, the book could have been reproduced from the writings of the early Christian Fathers, who quoted the book as we quote it, and who *believed it as we believe it*. And now infidels

talk about the Council of Nice getting up the New Testament. You might as well talk about a town-meeting getting up the Revised Statutes of the State of Massachusetts, because they happened to say they accepted or received them. The Council of Nice did nothing of the kind. The books of the New Testament were received from the apostles who wrote them, and were carefully preserved, and publicly read in the churches of Christ long before the Council of Nice was held.

Says Tertullian, A. D. 200, "If you are willing to exercise your curiosity profitably in the business of your salvation, visit the apostolic churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still preside in their places; in which their very *authentic letters are recited*, sounding forth the voice and representing the countenance of every one of them. Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedonia you have Philippi and Thessalonica; if you can go to Asia you have Ephesus, but if you are near to Italy we have Rome."

These apostolic churches received the Gospels at the hands of the men who wrote them; and the Epistles were written and signed by men whom they well knew. Paul wrote, "The salutation of me, Paul, by *mine own hand*, which is the *token in every epistle*, so I write."

Now, what did these writers testify? They testified things which they knew. The apostle John does not say, "That which we have dreamed, imagined, or guessed at, that thing do we declare unto you;" but, "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life." (1 John i. 1.) This was their testimony. They testified that they *saw* Christ in his life and in his death; that they saw him after his resurrection, and felt his hands and feet, and saw the nail-prints and the spear-wounds; and they knew these things and testified of them. They preached Christ, who had died and risen again. When a certain skeptic said he proposed to start a new religion, and asked a friend for some suggestions as to his best course, the friend replied, "I would advise you to get yourself crucified, and rise from the dead the third day!" No infidel has succeeded

in doing this. Christ died, and has risen again, and these apostles suffered the loss of all things, and imperilled their very lives in proclaiming truth; and they left their testimony on record in this Book. Then the apostles quote from the prophets, and the prophets quote from the Psalms, and refer to the law which was given on Mount Sinai; and so we go back from book to book, until we reach the book of Genesis, and that does not quote from anybody or anything. You have then reached the fountain-head.

"But," says one, "I think that the Bible may be a true history, but that is no proof of its inspiration. It does not require divine inspiration to write a true history." So you think it an easy matter to tell the truth, do you? I wish you could make other people think so. Suppose you go and read a file of the newspapers published just before the last election, and see if you do not think it requires divine inspiration to tell the truth, or even to find it out after it is told. Truth is mighty hard to get at, as you can see by perusing the daily papers on the eve of an election.

There are certain things in the Bible which, to my mind, bear the impress of divinity. A skeptic will tell you what a race of old sinners we read about in the Bible! Noah got drunk; David was guilty of adultery and murder; Solomon was an idolater, and wrought folly; Peter denied his Lord, and Judas sold him for thirty pieces of silver; all these people that the Bible talks to us so much about are a pretty set of men! Very well; what kind of men do you expect to read about in the Bible? Noah got drunk. Is that strange? Did no one else ever get drunk? Peter cursed and swore. Are there not men about here who ever curse and swear? Judas, an apostle, sold his Lord, who said he had chosen twelve, and one of them was a devil. Do you not sometimes find a Judas in the church even now-a-days? One in twelve was a thief and a traitor then; and we need not be surprised if we find about the same average now. But you seem to think that when you read about a man in the Bible he is sure to be free from all kinds of errors, frailties, faults, and sins. You have formed this idea of men from reading in Sunday-school books about good children, who usually

die young; or perusing excellent biographies, which, as you read them, cause you to exclaim, "I wish I could be as good a man as he was; but I never shall." If you knew the whole story about that man you might not feel so deeply on the subject.

Do you suppose that if the Bible had been revised by a committee of eminent divines, and published by some great religious society, we should ever have heard of Noah's drunkenness, of Jacob's cheating, of Paul and Barnabas quarreling, or of Peter lying, cursing, or dissembling? Not at all. The good men, when they came to such an incident, would have said, "There is no use in saying anything about that. It is all past and gone; it will not help anything, and it will only hurt *the cause*." [Applause.] If a committee of such eminent divines had prepared the Bible, you would have got a biography of men whose characters were patterns of piety and propriety, instead of poor sinners as they were. Sometimes a man writes his own diary, and *happens* to leave it for some one to print after he is dead; but he leaves out all the mean tricks he ever did, and puts in all the good acts he can think of; and you read the pages filled with astonishment, and think, "What a wonderfully good man he was!" But when the Almighty writes a man's life he tells the truth about him; and there are not many who would want their lives printed if the Almighty wrote them.

Suppose a young man goes, say from here down to Boston. Perhaps he is a rich man's son, who has had more money than was good for him at home, and who comes to the city to see the sights. He sails around the Black Sea, and slips into various ports that are not exactly safe, and the next morning finds him hauled up before his Honor in the Police court. You get the morning paper, and you expect to find the full particulars of the case. You do, do you? You find a paragraph on this wise: "A certain young man from the rural districts came to town yesterday, sailed around in different parts of the city, and fell into rather bad company. This morning he was brought up before his Honor, who admonished him to be more careful in the future, and he departed a sadder and a wiser man." This is the kind of paragraph you will find in the papers when a rich man's son comes to the city, goes on a spree, and has his head smashed and

his eye banged in a fight; you don't get many particulars. But if he is a poor vagabond, without a second shirt to his back, you can get his name, and perhaps his genealogy for generations, and all the particulars of his case. This is the way men write history; but when the Lord undertakes to tell *his* story of a sinful man he does not select a poor, miserable beggar, and show him up; he does not give even the name of the guilty woman who bathes the Saviour's feet with her tears; but he takes King David from the throne, and sets him down in sackcloth and ashes, and wrings from his heart the cry, "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness; according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out all my transgressions." And then when he is pardoned, forgiven, cleansed, and made whiter than snow, the pen of inspiration writes down the dark, damning record of his crimes, and the king on his throne has not power or wealth or influence enough to blot the page; and it goes into history for infidels to scoff at for three thousand years. Who wrote that? [Continued applause.]

You find a man who will tell the truth about kings, warriors, princes, and presidents to-day, and you may be quite sure that he has within him the power of the Holy Ghost. And a book which tells the faults of those who wrote it, and which tells you that "there is none righteous, no, not one," bears in it the marks of a true book; for we all know that men have faults and failings and sins, and among all the men described in that Book, *every man* whose life is recorded has some defect, some blot, save one, and that is "the man Christ Jesus."

Now we have to discuss this subject from all points of view, but mainly from the direction of objections. Men love objections, and so they say there are difficulties and absurdities and errors and contradictions in the Bible. You have all heard such assertions. After speaking once in the city of Boston, an ex-minister came to me and told me that the Bible was not true, for there was that story which Moses told about the quails. Israel lusted after flesh, and the Lord sent them quails to eat, and they fell by the camp a day's journey on each side, or over a territory forty miles across, and they were two cubits deep on the ground, and the Israelites ate them for about a month. I have in my possession

an infidel paper which was published in Boston, in which there is about a column of arguments and figures on this "quail story;" giving an estimate of the number of bushels of quails that were piled up over the country, and showing that when they were divided among the six million Israelites, each Jew would have 2,888,643 bushels of quails, which they were to eat during the month, giving each poor Israelite 69,620 bushels of quail to eat at each meal during the month; and therefore the Bible was not true! [Great laughter and applause.] That is the sort of food our skeptical friends love to eat. That is the meat on which these Cæsars grow so wondrous great. I said to this gentleman, "The Bible does not say any such thing!" He replied that it certainly did; but I answered that it did not say any such thing. He insisted that it did. "Well," said I, "find it!" And when you ask an infidel to *find* anything in the Bible, you generally have him. He could not find the place; so I turned over to the eleventh chapter of Numbers, and there read that instead of the birds being packed like cord-wood on the ground, three feet deep, the account says that the Lord brought the quails from the sea, and let them fall by the camp, as it were "two cubits *high*," or about three feet high upon or above the face of the earth. That is, instead of flying overhead and out of reach, they were brought in about three feet high, where any one could take as many of them as he chose. And this skeptical friend had got the birds packed solid, three feet deep, over a territory forty miles across. As if some one should say that a flock of geese flew as high as Bunker Hill Monument, and we should insist that they were packed solid from the ground up, two hundred and twenty-one feet high! This is a sample of the kind of arguments which infidels bring to prove that the Bible is not true!

The Book, to my mind, bears the marks of inspiration in the foresight which it exhibits. This Book foretells things. You cannot do that. You cannot tell what will be next year, or next week. "The spirits" cannot tell who will be the next President. They may tell a great many things which are past. They may tell you who your grandmother was, and may copy the inscriptions on your grandfather's grave-stone, and may tell

things which were written in the family record. They may reveal many things in the past,—for the devil knows about the past,—but they cannot foretell the future. I did hear of one spiritual medium who foretold her own death, and she died within a few hours; but when they got the stomach-pump, they pumped out of her stomach poison enough to kill two or three; but that kind of prophecy requires no omniscient foresight.

Years ago I talked with an infidel in Plymouth, and he wanted me to give him some evidence that the Bible was true. After some conversation, I loaned him a little volume, an abridgement of "Keith, on Prophecy." Some ten years after, as I took my seat in a railway train, he came and sat down beside me, and began to talk, and said: "If you want that book you can have it; but no one else can have it at any price." It had knocked his infidelity so high that you could not find a fragment of it, and he was a believer in Christ, and a member of his church.

The revelations of prophecy are facts which exhibit the divine omniscience. So long as Babylon is in heaps, so long as Nineveh lies empty, void, and waste; so long as Egypt is the basest of kingdoms; so long as Tyre is a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; so long as Israel is scattered among all nations; so long as Jerusalem is trodden under foot of the Gentiles; so long as the great empires of the world march on in their predicted course,—so long we have proof that one omniscient Mind dictated that Book, and "prophecy came not in old time by the will of man."

We call this Bible a book, but here are sixty-six different books, written by thirty or forty different men. A man may say, "I do not believe in the book of Esther." Well, what of that? We have sixty-five others left. What will you do with them? A man says, "I find fault with this chapter or with that." Suppose you do? If you were on trial for murder, and had sixty-six witnesses against you, suppose you impeach one of them, there are sixty-five left; impeach another, and you still have sixty-four; impeach another, and you have sixty-three—enough to hang you up if you are guilty. Do you not see that you cannot impeach this Book unless you do it in detail? Each book bears its own witness, and stands by itself on its own

merits; and yet each book is linked with all the rest. Blot out one, if you can. I am inclined to think it would be difficult to do this. This Book is built to stay together; it is inspired by one Spirit.

The authorship of this Book is wonderful. Here are words written by kings, by emperors, by princes, by poets, by sages, by philosophers, by fishermen, by statesmen; by men learned in the wisdom of Egypt, educated in the schools of Babylon, trained up at the feet of rabbis in Jerusalem. It was written by men in exile, in the desert, and in shepherd's tents, in "green pastures" and beside "still waters." Among its authors we find the fisherman, the tax-gatherer, the herdsman, the gatherer of sycamore fruit; we find poor men, rich men, statesmen, preachers, exiles, captains, legislators, judges—men of every grade and class. The authorship of this Book is wonderful beyond all other books.

And what a book it is—filled with law, ethics, prophecy, poetry, history, genealogy, medicine, sanitary science, political economy. It contains all kinds of writing; but what a jumble it would be if sixty-six books were written in this way by ordinary men. Suppose, for instance, that we get sixty-six medical books written by thirty or forty different doctors of various schools, believers in allopathy, homeopathy, hydropathy, and all the other opathies, bind them all together, and then undertake to doctor a man according to that book! [Laughter.] What man would be fool enough to risk the results of practicing such a system of medicine? Or, suppose you get thirty-five editors at work writing treatises on politics, or thirty-five ministers writing books on theology, and then see if you can find any leather strong enough to hold the books together when they have got through.

But again, it required fifteen hundred years to write this Book, and the man who wrote the closing pages of it had no communication with the man who commenced it. How did these men, writing independently, produce such a book? Other books get out of date when they are ten or twenty years old: but this Book lives on through the ages, and keeps abreast of the mightiest thought and intellect of every age.

Suppose that thirty or forty men should walk in through that door. One man comes from Maine, another from New Hampshire, another from Massachusetts, and so on from each state, each bearing a block of marble of peculiar shape. Suppose I pile up these blocks in order, until I have the figure of a man, perfectly symmetrical and beautifully chiseled, and I say, "How did these men, who had never seen each other, chisel out that beautiful statue?" You say, "That is easily explained. One man planned that whole statue, made the patterns, gave the directions, distributed them around; and so, each man working by the pattern, the work fits accurately when completed." Very well. Here is a book coming from all quarters, written by men of all classes, scattered through a period of fifteen hundred years; and yet this book is fitted together as a wondrous and harmonious whole. How was it done? "Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." One mind inspires the whole Book, one voice speaks in it all, and it is the voice of God speaking with resurrection power.

Again, I conclude that this Book has in it the very breath of God, from the effect that it produces upon men. There are men who study philosophy, astronomy, geology, geography, and mathematics, but did you ever hear a man say, "I was an outcast, a wretched inebriate, a disgrace to my race, and a nuisance in the world, until I began to study mathematics, and learned the multiplication table, and then turned my attention to geology, got me a little hammer, and knocked off the corners of the rocks and studied the formation of the earth; but since that time I have been happy as the day is long; I feel like singing all the time, my soul is full of triumph and peace; and health and blessing have come to my desolate home once more." Did you ever hear a man ascribe his redemption and salvation from intemperance and sin and vice to the multiplication table, or the science of mathematics or geology? But I can bring you, not one man, or two, or ten, but men by the thousand who will tell you, "I was wretched; I was lost; I broke my poor old mother's heart; I beggared my family; my wife was broken-hearted and dejected; my children fled from the sound of their father's footstep; I was ruined, reckless, helpless, homeless, hopeless, until

I heard the words of that Book!" And he will tell you the very word which fastened on his soul. It may be it was, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest;" perhaps it was, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;" it may have been, "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." He can tell you what the very word was which saved his soul. And since that word entered his heart, he will tell you that hope has dawned upon his vision; that joy has inspired his heart; and that his mouth is filled with grateful song. He will tell you that the blush of health has come back to his poor wife's faded cheek; that the old hats have vanished from the windows of his desolate home; that his rags have been exchanged for good clothes; that his children run to meet him when he comes; that there is bread on his table, fire on his hearth, and comfort in his dwelling. He will tell you all that, and he will tell you that this Book has done the work. [Amens.] Now, this Book is working just such miracles, and is doing it every day. If you have any other book that will do such work as this, bring it along. The work needs to be done; if you have the book that will do it, for Heaven's sake bring it out. But for the present, while we are waiting for you, as we know this book *will* do the work, we propose to use it until we can get something better.

What we most need is the Book itself. It is its own best witness and defender. Christians sometimes try to defend the word of God. It seems like half a dozen poodle dogs trying to defend a lion in his cage; the best thing for us to do is to slip the bars and let the lion out, and he will defend himself! And the best thing for us to do is to bring out the word of God, and let "the sword of the Spirit" prove its own power, as it pierces "even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit."

Suppose, for example, all the good people of this town should try the Bible, say for a single year. Suppose you start to-night, and say, "We have heard about that book, and now we will begin and practice its teachings just one year." What would be the result? There would be no lying, no stealing, no selling rum, no getting drunk, no tattling, no mischief-making, no

gossiping, no vice or debauchery. Every man would be a good man, every woman a good woman; every man would be a good husband, father, or brother, every woman a good wife, mother, or sister; every one in the community would be peaceable; there would be no brawls, no quarrels, no fights, no lawsuits; lawyers would almost starve to death; doctors would have light practice, and plenty of time to hoe their gardens; courts would be useless, jails and lockups empty, almshouses cleaned out of their inmates, except a few old stagers left over from the past generation; taxes would be reduced three-fourths, hard times would trouble nobody—all would be well-dressed and well cared for; and presently the news would go abroad, and we should hear in Boston, "What wonderful times they are having up there in old Spencer. The people have all gone to living according to the Bible." The news would get into all the local papers, the Springfield papers, the Boston papers, the New York papers. The telegraph wires would be kept hot with the news; they would hear of it in Cleveland, in Cincinnati, in Chicago, in St. Louis, in New Bedford and Fall River and Portland; and the reporters would start off to investigate. One would be inquiring, "Are there any houses to let in Spencer? any to sell? any building lots? any farms for sale?" Capitalists would come here. One man from Boston would say, "I am going to move to Spencer. I am sick of the noise and hurry of the city, and I want a place where I can bring up my children, and not have them go to perdition." There would be a general rush from all quarters to Spencer. It would raise the price of real estate twenty-five per cent in six months; taxes would come down, property would go up, and good people from far and near would want to move into town, and nobody who was worth having there would want to move out. And this would be the direct result of reading and *obeying this Book*. Now, if a book will do that for a community, what kind of a book is it? Is such a book the Lord's book or the devil's book? It seems to me that a book which will do such work as that, must be the Book of God, inspired by the very breath of the Almighty.

The Book is its own witness. It bears its own fruits and tells its own story. The great trouble with us is, we do not read

this Book, we do not use it, we do not know it. It is a sorrowful fact that you can hardly go into a prayer-meeting but you are likely to hear a quotation from Scripture that is not in the Bible and never was. You may hear, "In the midst of life we are in death," from the Prayer-book; "He tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," from an old romance; "God unchangeably ordains whatsoever comes to pass," from the Catechism; accompanied by passages misquoted, misunderstood, and misapplied, which show that the people do not read their Bibles and do not understand them; and the worst thing about it is, one-half the people who go to meeting do not seem to know the difference. We need to *read* the Bible, to search it, study it, believe it, and obey it, and we shall find that it is filled with sanctifying power to our own souls, and that it is the word of salvation to the lost and perishing.

But, says one, "I do not understand the Bible. I read it, but I cannot make anything of it. Somehow it is obscure, and my mind does not take hold of it." "How do you read your Bible?" "Oh, I read a chapter now and then; I read it here and there." Suppose your boy comes home from school and says, "I can't make anything of this arithmetic; it is all dark to me." You say to him, "How did you study it?" "Oh, I read a little at the beginning, and then I turned to the middle and read a little here and there, and skipped backward and forward. But I don't understand it; I can't see into it."

You say to him, "My son, that is not the way to understand arithmetic. You must begin at the beginning, with the simplest elements, and master every principle, learn every rule, solve every problem, and perform every example, and then the whole book will open to you, as you go on."

When you read a novel do you begin in the middle, and read a page here and a line there, and skip about hither and thither, and say, "I can't make anything of this book?" No; you begin at the beginning, where, "A solitary horseman was seen, one dark, tempestuous night, riding along upon the margin of a swollen stream which wound about the base of a lofty mountain, on which stood an ancient castle," etc., etc. There is where you begin; and then you read every line and every page of the

book, until you get to the end. Sometimes they print a column or two of a story in a paper, and go and scatter it through the town, and at the end of it you will read, "The remainder of this thrilling story will be found in the columns of the *Weekly Blazing Comet;*" and then you start off down to the news-room, and buy the *Blazing Comet* to find out how the story ends! Why will you not take the Bible and read it in the same way? Why will you not give as much attention to the faithful words of the living God, as you will to a pack of lies spun out by some sinful man? Why will you not take the Bible, and read it from beginning to end, and *see how it comes out?* You will find it the grandest and most thrilling story the world has ever known. Sometimes, when you have not time to read a novel through, you read the first chapter or two, to find out who the hero is, and then skim through the pages and read the closing chapters, and find out who was murdered, who was hung, and who was married; and then you can guess the rest, for there is usually about so much sawdust put in the middle for stuffing. Why will you not do as much as this for the Bible? Begin at the beginning, and read until you find out who is the hero of the story. You will find that the presence of one Person pervades the whole book. If you go into a British navy-yard, or on board a British vessel, and pick up a piece of rope, you will find that there is one little colored thread which runs through the whole of it,—through every foot of cordage which belongs to the British government, so, if a piece of rope is stolen, it may be cut into inch pieces, but every piece has the mark which tells where it belongs. It is so with the Bible. You may separate it into a thousand parts, and yet you will find one thought—one great fact running through the whole of it. You will find it constantly pointing and referring to one great Personage—"the seed of the woman" that shall crush the serpent's head; the seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed; the seed of David, who shall sit on David's throne, and reign forevermore; the despised and rejected sufferer, the "man of sorrows," "the Christ of God," born in Bethlehem, crucified on Calvary, rising triumphant from Joseph's tomb, ascending to sit at God's right hand, and coming again to judge the world

and reign as King and Lord of all forever. Around this one mighty Personage this whole Book revolves. "To him give all the prophets witness;" and this Book, which predicts his coming in its earliest pages, which foreshadows his person and his ministry through all its observances, types, and sacred prophecies, reveals in its closing lines the eternal splendors which shall crown and consummate his mighty work.

God's Word declares the end from the beginning. It is not only the chart which guides each weary wanderer to his own eternal rest, but it is the record of the great plan and purpose of the Almighty concerning the world which he has made and the church which he has redeemed. It unfolds God's everlasting purpose, as manifested in Jesus Christ; and if one will read three chapters at the beginning of the Bible and three at the end, he will be struck with the correspondence which there exists.

At the beginning of the Bible we find a new world: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." At the end of the Bible we find a new world: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away." At the beginning, we find Satan entering to deceive and destroy; at the end, we find Satan cast out, "that he should deceive the nations no more." At the beginning, sin and pain and sorrow and sighing and death find entrance to the world; at the end, there shall be no more pain nor sorrow, no sighing, and no more death. At the beginning, the earth, for man's transgression, is cursed with thorns and thistles; at the end, "there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it." At the beginning, we find the tree of life in paradise, from which the sinner is shut away by a flaming sword, lest he eat and live forever; at the end, we find the tree of life again "in the midst of the paradise of God," and the blessed and the blood-washed ones have a right to the tree of life, and "enter in through the gates into the city." At the beginning, man was beneath the dominion of death and the grave; at the end, "the dead, small and great, stand before God," the sea gives up its dead, and death and hell are destroyed in the lake of fire. At the beginning, the first Adam lost his dominion over earth, and was driven out of the garden of Eden in shame and sorrow; at

the end, we find the second Adam, victorious over sin and death and hell, enthroned as King and Lord of all, and reigning in triumph and glory forever.

Now, when you get the plan of this Book, you find that it is something more than a book of detached sentences, good maxims, and comforting words. It is a Book which unfolds the divine purpose, and reveals not only the way of salvation, but it marks the pathway of the people of God through this wilderness, and reveals the destiny of the world which he has made and the church which he has redeemed.

When we look at these facts we see that this is no man's book. When Columbus discovered the river Orinoco, some one said he had found an island. He replied: "No such river as that flows from an island. That mighty torrent must drain the waters of a continent." So this Book comes, not from the empty hearts of impostors, liars, and deceivers; it springs from the eternal depths of divine wisdom, love, and grace. It is the transcript of the Divine Mind, the unfolding of the divine purpose, the revelation of the divine will. God help us to receive it, to believe it, and be saved through Christ our Lord. [Amens from audience.]

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(APPENDIX.)

EXTRACTS FROM A TRACT

ENTITLED

REMARKS ON "THE MISTAKES OF MOSES."

BY H. L. HASTINGS.

The investigators of "the mistakes of Moses" might well consider the system of sanitary science embodied in Moses' law, so unlike anything which the world had ever seen, and which the civilization of the nineteenth century is still too ignorant to appreciate, though observers begin to note its results as indicated in the superior

HEALTH AND LONGEVITY OF THE JEWISH NATION.

If we take a thousand Jews and a thousand Gentiles, as a basis of computation, we may divide them into four parts; one-*fourth* of them comprehending those who die in *early* years; one-*half*, those who attain to *middle life;* and one-*fourth*, those who reach *advanced age*. But among the Gentiles, the first two hundred and fifty that die, will reach an average age of *six years* and *eleven months;* while among the Jews, the first quarter will die at an average age of *twenty-eight years* and *three months*. Among the Gentiles the one-half who attain to *middle age*, will die at an average age of *twenty-six years* and *six months;* among the Jews the same portion will reach an average age of *fifty-three years* and *one month*. Among the Gentiles, the *last quarter*, who live longest, will die at an average age of *fifty-nine years* and *ten months;* while the same class among the Jews will live to an average age of *seventy-one years*.

Further, not only is the death rate *less* among "the scattered nation," but the *birth rate is greater*. Dr. Pressel states that, in his district, the number of Jewish births reached an annual average of *fifty-five* per *thousand*, while the Gentile births were only *thirty-eight* per thousand; and the ecclesiastical registers of Prussia also show, that among one hundred thousand Gentile births *one hundred and forty-three* children were still-born, while among an equal number of Jews the still-born were only *eighty-nine*.

Carefully prepared statistics show that the *infant* mortality is nearly twice as great among Gentiles as among the Jews; and

that while among the *adult* Gentiles the period of the greatest *frequency* of deaths comes between the ages of *twenty* and *twenty-four*, during which time, 6.2 per cent, or *sixty-two* out of every *thousand*, die, among *adult* Jews the period of the greatest mortality occurs between the ages of *seventy* and *seventy-four;* during which time 11.4 per cent, or *one hundred and fourteen* out of every *thousand*, die. The next largest death rate among the Gentiles, falls between the years of *sixty-five* and *sixty-nine*, when, out of the little remnant of the original thousand taken as a basis of computation, sixty persons, or *six per cent*, die; while from the much larger body of Jews yet remaining, an average of *seventy-two* die during the corresponding period. The previous period, between the years of *sixty and sixty-four*, shows a still more markėd contrast, for while the deaths among the Gentiles are only *fifty-four* out of the original thousand, the mortality among the Jews is *ninety-five*. Thus it appears that of the Gentiles, far more die in *early life*, while of the Jews, *far more die in old age*.

According to the statistics of Frankfort, Germany, the death rate of *infants* under four years old, is, among the Gentiles 241 per thousand, among the Jews 129 per thousand. Passing to the other extreme of life we find that between the ages of *sixty and seventy-nine*, of the original thousand Gentiles *two hundred and eleven die;* while during the same period, of the original thousand Jews, *three hundred and seventy-two deaths occur*. Hence it appears that while the number of premature deaths among the Gentiles, is vastly larger than among the Jews, the number of those who die at "a good old age" is much greater among the Jews than it is among the Gentiles.

These computations are borne out by the ecclesiastical registers of Prussia, between the years 1823 and 1841. From these it appears that there died on an average, annually, *one* in *thirty-four Gentiles*, and only *one* in *forty-six Jews*. Of the children born among the Gentiles, *forty-four and a half* per cent reached the age of *fourteen*, but among the Jews *fifty* per cent reached that age. Among the Gentiles only *twelve* per cent reached the age of *seventy*, while among the Jews *twenty* per cent reached that age. These conclusions are carefully drawn from reliable statistics, and accord with the statements of Dr. Pressel, and show that the learned French physician, Dr. M. Levy, is abundantly justified in concluding that while the average term of life among the Gentiles is *twenty-six years*, among the Jews it is *thirty-seven*.

Hence, while the beer-drinking, whiskey-loving, pork-eating Gentile dies, on an average, at the age of twenty-six, the Jew,

giving heed to the *teachings of Moses*, adds *nearly one-half* to the length of his days, having an average of *eleven years longer* to enjoy life, attend to business, and acquire property. Is it any wonder that, as a rule, Jews excel the Gentiles in whatever they undertake?

Dr. Gibbon, a health officer of London, reports that the life of the Jew in London is, on an average, twice as long as the life of the Gentile. The medical officer of one of their large schools has remarked that Jewish children do not die in anything like the same ratio as the children of the Gentiles. In the district of Whitechapel, the medical officer in his report states that on the north side of High street, which is occupied by Jews, the average death rate is *twenty-seven* per thousand; while on the south side, occupied by English and Irish, the average death rate is *forty-three* per thousand.

The more we study the law of Moses, in its relation to *health*, and in its various provisions which long ago anticipated the sanitary science of our day—in its system of dietetics, in its convocations and feasts, in its purifications and its varied restrictions which touch the social life at every point—we shall be amazed at the wisdom manifested in that ancient law, as exhibited in its safeguards against vice, disorder, and disease.

From its initiatory rite, the seal of the covenant, which was in itself a protection against self-abuse and disease, down to the close of life, the Jewish law sedulously guarded the physical health of the people; and even the laws concerning the dead exhibit the same divine wisdom. Modern times have afforded instances where persons, in their misguided affection, have pressed the cold lips of the dead, and taken thence disease which has laid them in the grave; and it is well known that the slightest wound inflicted by a dissecting instrument, almost inevitably produces death. Against such sad consequences, the Mosaic law most carefully guarded the Israelites. Contrary to the usages of the eastern world, where the dead were sometimes embalmed and preserved, or where the living and the dead were consumed together in the flames, the Jews were taught that death was a curse, that its presence was defiling, that the living were to be carefully separated from the dead, and that any person who touched a dead body thereby became *unclean*, and was not allowed to touch any other person or thing until he had passed a period of separation and had been thoroughly bathed. Modern science cannot fail to recognize the utility of such restrictions; and many precious lives might have been saved by paying attention to the sanitary instructions which are embodied in the Mosaic law.

Skeptics may prate about the mistakes of Moses, but it would be difficult to find a greater mistake than *they* make, when they undertake to sit in judgment on a law which they have never studied, and the reasons for which they are not yet wise enough to comprehend. The most advanced science of our times has not yet reached the plane that Moses occupied, and we may still, with Israel's Psalmist, exclaim, "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law."

SABBATHS OF REST.

I recollect hearing Lord Shaftesbury speak in London, of attending a Costermonger's Exhibition of the donkeys with which they drag about their little barrows of provisions and merchandise. He said there were fifty donkeys exhibited, looking as sleek and beautiful as if they had come out of the Queen's stables; and the men told him, without his asking them, every one of these donkeys had each week, twenty-four consecutive hours of rest, and, as a consequence, they could travel *thirty miles a day*, with their loads, for six days in a week, while donkeys which were driven seven days in the week, could not travel more than *fifteen miles a day.*

Of course a skeptic would sneer at the idea that religion and divine revelation had anything to do with donkeys; or that donkeys had any concern in the law of God. But the Creator understood very well what was good for a donkey, and so he put the donkey into the commandment: "The seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thine ox, nor thine *ass*, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." Deut. v. 14. The Lord well knew that a donkey would do more work in a week if he worked six days, than he would if he worked seven days. He made provision that the donkey should have his weekly rest.

Whatever opinion men may hold concerning the perpetuity of sabbatic *laws* in the change of dispensations, man's physical constitution remains unchanged; and every law which has its foundation and justification in the nature of things, is worthy of the most careful and reverent consideration. They who violate the laws of existence must accept their penalties.

It is a curious fact that after man has overworked and become wearied and exhausted, from the neglect of the appointed times of rest, when at last he is sinking under disease, and the frantic struggles of the powers of nature take the form of a fever, this

same law of sevens manifests itself in the process of restoration. His fever runs *seven days*, and then turns; or if nature is not able to recover herself at that point, the struggle goes on for another *seven days;* and if the fever does not then turn, it must run another *seven days*. Fevers do not turn on the fourth, or fifth, or sixth day. All the doctors and skeptics in creation cannot make fevers turn, as a rule, except at the seventh day. This shows that the law of sevens is so wrought into the very constitution of man, that he cannot escape its control. It is a part of himself; and whether he believes it or disregards it, he is still bound by this universal law. The human constitution is like an eight-day clock. It needs to be wound up regularly *once a week*, and the *day of rest* affords opportunity of doing it. And any one who will study the constitution of mankind, will find that this law, dividing human life into periods of one, two, three, and *four* sevens of days, is a universal law, controlling human existence from its beginning to its end.

When we consider that Moses was the founder of the first *national sanitary system* of which we have record; the founder of the first republican government which the world has ever known, the United States of Israel; the organizer of the first nation that worshiped the only true and living God, in the midst of world-wide idolatries and defilements; the founder of the first total abstinence society of which history makes record (Num. vi.); the giver of a system of laws which, while all the other laws of antiquity are lost in oblivion or buried in contempt, is so founded on the immutable principles of truth and righteousness that it lies at the basis of all modern civil government, and has so ruled and molded the character of the Jewish nation, that gray-headed judges on the bench and lawyers at the bar, declare that in their whole lives they have never seen a Jew arraigned for crime,—we may well inquire whether, after all, the career of Moses *was* such a gross mistake.

In Great Britain, where skepticism widely prevails, and "the mistakes of Moses" are discussed in club-rooms, beer-shops, and gin-palaces, one person in every *eleven* is said to be a *lunatic*, a *criminal*, a *pauper*, or a *drunkard*. Would not the teachings of Moses, in spite of all his alleged "mistakes," go far to remedy the wreck and ruin which has been wrought there by intemperance, vice, and crime?*

*Persons who wish to pursue this subject, are invited to study the five books of Moses, and also to peruse a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks on the Mistakes of Moses," by H. L. Hastings; to be had of the publishers of this treatise.

THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION:

An Outline Historical Study.

THEODORE W. HOPKINS.

THE

DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION:

AN

OUTLINE HISTORICAL STUDY.

BY

THEODORE W. HOPKINS.

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CONTENTS.

The Doctrine of Inspiration:

An Outline Historical Study.

INTRODUCTION.

The accompanying sketch does not aim to present a complete critical history of the Doctrine of Inspiration. It simply embodies the results of some special studies, which may be of interest in view of current biblical and theological discussions.

It will be noticed that the method of treatment is not uniform. Somewhat frequent changes of plan were necessitated by the varying nature and amount of the material at command. In the latter part of the essay it has been deemed advisable to allow writers to speak, partially at least, for themselves, though great condensation has been necessary in order to bring detailed statements within a reasonable compass.

The author feels it due to himself to state that while he has endeavored to keep this sketch, as far as possible, free from subjective coloring, his personal convictions and sympathies are wholly in the direction of conservative orthodox opinions.

The science of Comparative Religion teaches that many ideas commonly associated with Christianity alone, and supposed to be its exclusive property, really belong to man as a religious being. No matter how rude the conception or imperfect the expression, they enter into every form of faith, and are coëxtensive with a belief in Deity. In other systems they voice deep needs of human souls and earnest though impotent efforts to supply them ;

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in Christianity the wants are fully met, the ideas become glorious realities.

Such an idea is that of Inspiration, in the broad sense of the word. In the historical survey proposed, we must be content to employ the term, as past ages have done, with some latitude of meaning, leaving nice distinctions and close definitions to the province of doctrinal polemics. We shall not undertake a study of the subject in its more general relations to the canon, but shall confine our investigations in the main to two specific points: the *Nature*, and the *Extent of Inspiration.*

A. THE HEATHEN DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION.

I. The Vedic.

Nowhere in the world have such elaborate and minute theories of inspiration been developed as in western and southern Asia—especially in India. The Brahmans teach that even before time was, the Vedic hymns in their minutest parts lived in the mind of Deity, and were immediately communicated, not to common men, but to superior beings raised up and prepared to receive them. Of course but one element, the divine, is conceded in their composition; no room is left for trace or tinge of human coloring. With such an origin and character, they must form for the Hindu an absolutely infallible revelation.

Sanscrit scholars tell us that these high claims are nowhere put forth in the hymns themselves,[1] though the authors at times vaguely assert the presence of a higher consciousness and influence under which they wrote. Thus they would declare their felt dependence on an unseen Power, self-surrender to a higher Will—this and nothing more. But from such a small beginning there gradually grew up among the ancient Brahmans a belief in the supernatural origin and character of the Vedas, which was at last formulated into the extreme and artificial theory of inspiration above described. The same attribute is now ascribed also to the

[1] *Chips from a German Workshop,* I. 18.

Brahmanas (commentaries on the ancient Vedic sacrificial rites and the hymns therewith connected), but to no other Hindu writings.

II. The Buddhistic.

Buddhism can be properly understood only when viewed as a reaction against Brahmanism. Properly speaking, it is not a religion at all, for it has no real Deity; it is rather a metaphysical philosophy, — a system, not revealed, but discovered by a man, Gautama. Even after the sage attained the final truth, becoming Buddha, the Enlightened, he left in his gospel of annihilation no room for nature, much less for the supernatural.

Buddhism began by denying the authenticity and revealed character of the Vedas, but yet went on to develop an immense sacred canon of its own (two hundred and twenty-five folio volumes), for which, however, it dare make no claim of divine origin, or any sort of inspiration whatever. For our purposes, therefore, the system of Sakya-Mouni, though in *form* a book-religion, may be left out of the account.

III. The Zoroastrian.

Tradition among the Parsis ascribes the immediate and exclusive authorship of the whole Zend-Avesta to Ahura-Mazda, who delivered it complete to Zoroaster, that he might publish its contents among men.

The sacred books themselves, however, as now extant, make no such lofty assertions on their own behalf. The Yasna, not the Vendidad, according to Haug, does claim to be a divine revelation, but not in such a sense as to imply pure passivity on the part of the human organ. Zoroaster is admitted to immediate intercourse with the Deity, plies him with questions on every subject of great interest and moment, and receives full and trustworthy replies, which he makes known to his immediate followers and to mankind in general.

It is highly probable that Zoroaster committed none of his doctrines to writing. Like the Vedic hymns, they were transmitted through many centuries by oral tradition alone. The first penmen in each case are of necessity unknown.

It thus appears that the development of the doctrine of inspiration was substantially the same in the case of the Persian canon as in that of the Hindu.

IV. The Chinese.

It has been said of the three great religions of China, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, that in their true conception they are not religions at all, as having no personal God; but that they are rather systems of philosophy, one moral, another metaphysical, and a third materialistic. If this be so, none of the sacred books can logically claim divine origin, or the attribute of inspiration in any form. The facts as established by modern scholarship seem to show:

1. That the idea of revelation, *as a possibility*, is common to both Confucianism and Taoism.

Dr. Legge says: "Among the primitive characters of the Chinese was one, symbol of manifestation or revelation from above. That God should make known his will from above, did not seem strange to the Chinese fathers. In 'Shih' we read: 'God spake to king Wan,' as in the Old Testament God spake to Moses. Hundreds of Taoist tracts are circulated in China purporting to be the teaching of this god or that, warning or advising mankind."[1]

2. As *matter of fact*, however, according to the same author, the various sacred books of China do not profess to have been inspired or to constitute what we should call a revelation. Historians, poets, or others wrote them as they were moved in their own minds. An old poem may occasionally contain what it says was spoken by God, but we can only understand that language as calling attention emphatically to the statement to which it is prefixed.[2]

V. The Mohammedan.

Though chronologically out of place, it is most convenient to notice here the view of inspiration implied in the Koran.

Mohammed professed to be the recipient of manifold visions and revelations, which came to him, not in waking, self-conscious

[1] *Religions of China*, p. 245.

[2] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. III., Introduction, xv.

moments, but in fits of ecstasy. The appearance of his person at such times was repulsive, terrible. "He roared like a camel; his eyes rolled and glowed like red coals, and on the coldest day terrible perspiration would break out all over his body. When the terror ceased, it seemed to him as if he had heard bells ringing, 'the sound whereof seemed to rend him to pieces,'—as if he had heard the voice of a man,—as if he had seen Gabriel,—or as if words had *been written in his heart*."[1] When the paroxysm was over and consciousness returned, then, and not before, did Mohammed begin to dictate to scribes that which he had heard in the state of ecstasy.

The prophet was a victim of epilepsy, but no diagnosis of this disease could explain all these symptoms with their attendant results. They seemed intelligible only as signs of the veritable prophetic frenzy. Thus classic paganism would have interpreted them, and it was quite natural that the religious credulity of the seventh century should do the same.

Turn now to the Koran. It purports to be a *direct revelation* from God in the highest sense. The inner consciousness of the prophet is not elevated and illumined with celestial light; rather is the human element driven from every nook and hiding place, while the divine element is sole and supreme. Every word individually, from the beginning to the end, is the direct utterance of Allah. "The formula, 'Speak, thus saith the Lord,' either precedes every single sentence, or must be so understood."

It is to be observed that this extreme and artificial theory of inspiration is not, as in the case of the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta, a gradual growth of ages, but rather an original claim made by Mohammed himself. When demand is now made for some miraculous sign of his prophetic mission and authority, Mussulmans appeal to the Koran itself as the most stupendous of all miracles. It is eternal and uncreated, being first written in the highest heavens, but carried by Gabriel to the lowest heaven, and thence at intervals made known to the prophet. As the immediate handiwork of God, it is faultless in style and inimitable in its beauty, but is for this very reason untranslatable into foreign tongues. The doctrine of inspiration could no farther go. It would be interesting, but is perhaps impossible to know,

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[1] *Literary Remains of Immanuel Deutsch*, 81.

whether and how far its development in Mohammedanism was influenced by crude and exaggerated views prevalent in the corrupt Christianity and Judaism of the time and region.

VI. Classic Paganism.

It has been said, somewhat rashly perhaps, that "we search the literature of Greece and Rome in vain for the idea of *revelation.*" If the affirmation be restricted to book-revelation, it may, perhaps, be approximately true, though the Sibylline books with their sacred character and supposed divine origin should count for something. But the idea of revelation in itself was common to the whole ancient world, and was nowhere more generally credited than in Greece and Rome. What else mean the Dodonian, Delphic and numerous other oracles, the Pythian priestess, the various sibyls, and the whole class of seers, soothsayers and diviners?

Apollo was the special god of prophecy, and he as well as other deities made known the future and all other needful matters of command and counsel through inspired human organs. Inspiration had its certain signs; its outward phenomena and internal characteristics were carefully analyzed and noted. Even the means of inducing it were discovered, so that to classic paganism it became an art.

There is no need of repeating the story of the distressing signs under which the Pythian priestess uttered her responses. The lofty tripod on which she sat, the smoke issuing from the well below, throwing her into delirium and convulsions, her wild and incoherent ejaculations, noted by attendants as the divine answer to anxious questionings,—all these are familiar to the intelligent schoolboy.

Pagan orthodoxy believed devoutly that Apollo himself dwelt in the priestess, prompting every word she spoke, annihilating for the time her human consciousness and personality, and making her his blind instrument. Even Plato could not rise above this vulgar idea, but maintained, with the Stoics and almost the whole of antiquity, that the sense for higher revelation arises in a condition of unconsciousness, in sleep, and most of all in ecstasy.

"No man, when in his senses, attains prophetic truth and inspiration; but when he receives the inspired word, either his

intelligence is enthralled by sleep, or he is demented by some distemper or possession. And he who would understand what he remembers to have been said, whether he was in dream, or when he was awake, by the prophetic and enthusiastic nature, or what he has seen, must recover his senses."[1]

There were others, however, who took a different and a higher view. Plutarch, for example, excused the bad poetry with which sceptical ridicule charged the Pythian priestess, and yet maintained its inspiration by asserting that the deity made use of her imperfect natural faculties for conveying and embodying his own infallible truth. Here he clearly distinguishes two elements and factors in inspiration, a divine and a human, and seeks by attributing to each its proper share in the complex product, to avoid either extreme, credulity or unbelief.

He says: "We are not to believe that the god made the verses; but, after he has communicated the moving impulse, each of the prophetesses is moved in a way that corresponds to her own peculiar nature. For let us suppose that the oracles were not to be spoken, but recorded in writing, we should not, I imagine, ascribe to the god the strokes of the letters, and find fault with him because the writing was not so beautiful as that of the imperial edicts. Not the language, nor the tone, nor the expression, nor the measure of the verse comes from the god—all this comes from the woman. He simply communicates the intuitions, and kindles up a light in the soul with regard to the future."[2] More to the same purport might be quoted.

General Conclusions.

Enough has probably now been said respecting extra-Christian views of inspiration. We see that the idea exists in various forms and degrees, and shall find that it exerted, in its Platonic form, much influence upon Alexandrian Judaism, and thus mediately at least upon Christianity.

Two things at this stage of our inquiries demand notice.

1. It is not true, without exception, as commonly supposed, that heathen inspiration acknowledges but one factor, the divine,

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[1] Plato, *Timæus*, 71, 72. Jowett's Trans., vol. II., 563.

[2] *De Pythiæ Oraculis*, CXXI.

and that it wholly suppresses — absolutely obliterates, for the time — the human consciousness of its organ. There are at least intimations of the conscious coëxistence and coöperation of the divine and human.

2. Extravagant, artificial, and rigidly mechanical theories of inspiration are not always the immediate and inevitable accompaniment of a sacred canon. As in the case of the Vedic hymns and the Zend-Avesta, they are apt to be the result of a long and gradual growth of tradition and superstition.

B. THE JEWISH DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION, TO THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

It may be said in general that the Jews always and all of them cherished a deep reverence for their sacred books, conceding their divine origin and their unique and binding authority. The specific doctrine or theory of inspiration, however, was a gradual growth, and was formulated mainly at Alexandria during the period between the cessation of prophecy and the close of the Old Testament canon. Opinions on this subject varied somewhat.

I. Palestinian Judaism.

It is here that we would naturally expect to find prevalent the strictest views on this subject. Two degrees of inspiration (not three as in the case of Maimonides and other Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages) were admitted.

1. *Legal or Mosaic.*

This was peculiar to Moses alone, being shared by no other one of the sacred writers. The Law came direct from God, being either written by his own hand, or else dictated to Moses as his amanuensis.[1] As to inherent character, it is in itself an original and perfectly sufficient revelation, and if Israel had acted in a worthy manner, no further divine communication through the other sacred books would have been needful.

Nothing is contained in the Hagiographa which is not implied

[1] Cremer in Herzog, *Real Encyclopädie*, art. *Inspiration.*

in the Law, nor dare any prophet give utterance to anything which is not founded on the same. All indeed which the prophets afterwards predicted was already beforehand revealed from Sinai.

The Law is called Holy Scripture *absolutely*, the other writings attain a like dignity only from their constituent relation to this.[1]

2. *Prophetic.*

All the other books of the Old Testament, though divinely revealed, must take a second rank.[2] This results from the fact that they reveal nothing new in substance, but simply teach the correct understanding and explanation of the Law. The difference of the two classes of writings was illustrated by the saying that 'Moses looked upon a clear mirror, other prophets upon one whose surface was dim'; or, that 'he looked through one, other prophets through several mirrors.'[3] Notwithstanding this lower degree of inspiration and consequent inferiority of rank, Palestinian Jewish theology insisted upon the inclusion of the Prophets and Hagiographa with the Law in 'Holy Scripture.' Those who denied the claim were branded as apostates from Israel.

It was not held that the process of inspiration in these writers annihilated their human personality and made them unconscious organs of the Spirit.[3] It did not even obliterate diversities of gifts, or peculiarities of literary style by which the productions of one might be distinguished from those of another. Apparently, more pronounced individuality was conceded to the writers of the historical books than to the prophets strictly so called.

II. Alexandrian Judaism.

Very different was the case with Alexandrian Judaism. Seemingly more liberal in general character, its theory of inspiration was far more strict. This is seen in the credit given to the fable of the miraculous origin of the Septuagint translation. Aristeas, followed by Philo and Josephus, relates that Ptolemy Philadelphus summoned seventy-two rabbins from Palestine to make a translation of the sacred books from the Hebrew original into

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[1] Weber, *Alt-Synagogal. Palæstin. Theol.*, 78–80.

[2] Weber, *Alt-Synagogal. Palæst. Theol.*, 78.

[3] Cremer, 747.

Greek. These men performed the task, translating each one by himself, in a separate cell, in such a way that their productions agreed exactly, word for word, from beginning to end. Such unity could be attributed, as Irenæus says,[1] only to immediate divine inspiration.

This legend was generally credited, and greatly influenced the development of the doctrine of inspiration; in fact, it shows how lofty was the idea then already prevailing. Of course, arguing from the less to the greater, any reverence given to the translation would be intensified in the case of the Hebrew original.

The Hellenistic view of inspiration, if generally less elaborate and exact in form and statement than the Palestinian Jewish, was grosser, more extravagant, and mechanical in character. It assigned the rank of prophet to all Old Testament writers. All spoke and wrote in a state of ecstasy, which was normal to one under the influence of inspiration. Self-consciousness and free-will were suspended, and the seer became the merely passive organ of the Holy Ghost.

III. Testimony of Jewish Writers.

Of express testimonies to the inspiration of the Jewish canonical books, we can notice but three.

1. *The Apochryphal Writers.*

These bear clear and abundant witness to their belief in the divine origin and character of the Old Testament Scriptures. Moses is spoken of as 'commanded by God to write his Law;' the Law itself is 'the book of the covenant of the Most High God.'[2] Comfort is said to be derived from the 'holy books of Scripture, which we have in our hands.' The communications made to Moses and other sacred writers bear the character of divine revelations, and are the words of God himself.[3]

2. *Josephus.*

Josephus, born at Jerusalem, and a member of the sect of the

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[1] *Adv. Hær.*, Lib. III.: 24.

[2] Quoted Lee on Inspiration, 62.

[3] Bannerman on Inspiration, 117.

Pharisees, ought to serve as a representative example of Palestinian Jewish orthodoxy. Indeed, he is quoted by most orthodox writers as a valuable witness to the general acceptance of the doctrine of plenary and verbal inspiration among his countrymen. He says: "Every one is not permitted, of his own accord, to be a writer, nor is there any disagreement in what is written; they being only prophets that have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself, by inspiration; and others have written what hath happened in their own time, and that in a very distinct manner also. For we have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another, [as the Greeks have], but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all past times, which are justly believed to be divine."[1] If this correctly represents the Jewish orthodoxy of the first century A. D., it does not necessarily indicate the personal opinions of the author. It seems doubtful whether Josephus had any real belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures. If he had, how could he treat them as he does, while claiming to make them the basis of his own history? How could he jumble together fact and fancy, divine wisdom and foolish philosophy, veritable history and baseless tradition? Why should he be so anxious to eliminate, by any and every possible method, the miraculous and Messianic elements from the narrative with which he has to deal? It will probably be hard to find such an answer to these questions as will save the consistency and character of the author. Still, the testimony of Josephus, such as it is, is one which, in the meagreness of our information, we could ill afford to lose.

3. *Philo.*

This learned Alexandrian is generally, and on the whole correctly, taken as the representative of the Hellenistic Jewish view of inspiration. What has been said above of the general view (II.) will for the most part apply to him. When his opinions are subjected to a close examination, they are found to be vague, especially on the psychological phenomena in question—how much or how little activity he would assign to the personal

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[1] *Contra Apion,* Lib. I.: cap. 7, 8.

mental powers of inspired men. He may have entertained mutually conflicting ideas on the whole subject.

When under the influence of inspiration, a person was in a state of ecstasy; and this to Philo was the 'goal of ambition,' and, as he testifies, in some sense a matter of personal experience with him. He claims inspiration not only for himself, but for every pious man; and yet he by no means attempts to place his own productions, or those of his fellows, on a level with Holy Scripture. His idea of ecstasy implies such a perfect self-surrender to the fellowship and influence of Deity, as to result in a complete suppression of the human consciousness and will before those which are divine. "The prophet," he says, "is the interpreter of the Deity, and God uses him as an instrument to make known what he will. A prophet says nothing of his own, but merely what another inspires within him."

Somewhat inconsistently with his magical view of inspiration, Philo admits a difference of *degree* in the same. In the *highest* (ἑρμηνεία) the utterances are immediately from God; the human element wholly recedes, the divine only comes to view, and that pure and unmixed. There is a union, or rather absorption of the person inspired in the God who moves and speaks within him. In the *second* or *intermediate* stage, there is a mingling of the purely divine with the human, both of which appear; the prophet questions and God replies (as in the Zend-Avesta); thus he is able to predict the future with infallible certainty. In the *lowest* stage, the inspiration proceeds from the divine, which has become the personal possession of the prophet. The latter speaks in his own name from his own consciousness, though the substance of the message is from God.

Careful scrutiny shows that at the bottom of Philo's idea of prophetic ecstasy there is no higher element than is drawn from heathen divination and mystery-worship. His syncretistic system allowed him to transfer the heathen conceptions of μαντική, or 'divine possessions,' to the prophets of the Old Testament. But more than this, the whole Philonic (and thus far, Hellenistic) theory is of heathen origin.

Conceding, as all critics do, the immense influence which Philo exerted ultimately upon this, as well as upon the whole circle of Christian doctrine, it is not enough to admit, with Hagenbach, that the external form of the theory of inspiration was

mixed up with heathen notions; the pagan conception entered into and largely determined that of early Christianity. Valuable, then, as is Philo's witness, from the historical and apologetic points of view, his influence upon the actual development of the doctrine was to a great extent unwholesome and disastrous.

C. THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION.—ANTE-NICENE PERIOD.

I. Terms.

The word *θεοπνευστία* (borrowed from 2 Tim. 3 : 16,) was first made current in ecclesiastical language by Origen and Chrysostom. It became the most common term to express our modern English idea of inspiration. In the old Greek church, the meaning of the expression was indefinite. Most theologians, however, understood it, doubtless, in an active, rather than a passive sense—'full of the divine Spirit,' 'God-breathing' (Gottathmend). The passive signification, 'breathed into' 'in-spired by God,' appears to have been made prominent by Chrysostom; later it become controlling in the church.

The Latin word *inspiration*, first applied by Tertullian to the sacred books, and thus introduced into the dogmatic Christian vocabulary, occurs in many passages of the Vulgate, where a divine 'breathing,' 'breathing upon,' is mentioned, but it answers not so much to the word *θεοπνευστία*, as to the *ἐπίπνοια* of the old Greeks,—a word which in the Christian church also came to possess precisely the same signification as *θεοπνευστία*.[1]

II. Unity of Inspiration in the Old and New Testaments.

With the Jewish canon, passed over also to the primitive Christians, naturally and inevitably, Jewish ideas and views of *its* inspiration. From the very first, the apostolic writings were regarded with great reverence,and were considered as authoritative for those to whom they were immediately addressed. No complete

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[1] Münscher, *Lehrb. Dogm.-gesch.* (Neudecker), II: 2, 220.

collection of Christian sacred writings, however, had yet been made; and consequently the precise relation of those already known and used, to the Old Testament Scriptures was not definitely settled in the consciousness of the Church. Certainly the formulated theory of Jewish inspiration was not at the outset applied to them. This application, however, was speedily made, and several things conspired to effect it. One was the habit of reading sections from the writings of the prophets and apostles in the public assemblies of the Christians.[1] Equal dignity seemed thus to be ascribed to both. Then, again, careful scrutiny disclosed the indissoluble internal connection and unity of both: the one, as containing the predictions of the Messiah and his mission of salvation; the other, as proclaiming his actual advent, and the completion of his redeeming work.

Witness as to the belief of the church in the common divine origin and character of both classes of sacred books is abundant, clear and decisive.

Thus Justin († 163) says: "We have believed God's voice, spoken again by the apostles of Christ, and proclaimed by the prophets."[2]

Theophilus: "Concerning the righteousness which the Law enjoined, confirmatory utterances are found, both within the Prophets and in the Gospels, because they all spoke inspired by one Spirit of God."[3]

Yet more distinctly, Irenæus († 202): "For the one and same Spirit of God, who proclaimed by the prophets what and of what sort the advent of the Lord should be, announced also that the fulness of the times had come."[4]

Of Tertullian († cir. 230), an old German writer says: "His whole theory is summed up in these two propositions: 'The Old and New Testaments are inspired; and, both collections of writings are inspired by one and the same God.' This he proves in detail, in his treatise 'Against Marcion,' especially Chapters xix., xxv.

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[1] Justin Martyr, *First Apol.*, c. lxvii.

[2] *Dial. cum Tryph.*, c. cxix.

[3] *Ad Autol.*, III : 12.

[4] *Adv. Hær.*, iii : 21, 4.

Origen's testimony is peculiarly clear and explicit. In the preface to his treatise *De Principiis*, (c. 4), he says: "That this Spirit inspired each one of the saints, whether prophets or apostles, and that there was not one Spirit in the men of the old dispensation, and another in those who were inspired at the advent of Christ, is most clearly taught throughout the churches."

Cyril of Jerusalem, living at the end of our period, maintained that the same Spirit spoke through prophets and apostles: "Let no man divide the Old from the New Testament, or say that the Spirit in one is different from the Spirit in the other, else he offends against the Holy Ghost himself."[1]

Much more testimony to the same effect, both direct and indirect, might be drawn from the ante-Nicene writers, but it seems unnecessary.

Thus not only did the ante-Nicene church acknowledge the unity and equality of the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, but various circumstances conspired to increase the emphasis placed upon it. Chief among these was the opposition of the Gnostics, who either wholly rejected the Old Testament, maintaining that it was inspired by the Demiurge; or, as Irenæus says of the Valentinians, ascribed great difference in character, not only to the prophetic books, but even to the discourses of Christ, according as they were inspired by higher or lower, more or less perfect spiritual principles.

III. Extra-Canonical Inspiration.

Destructive critics have made much of the fact that the idea of inspiration was not strictly limited by the early church-fathers to the canonical writings, but was extended by some to the apochryphal books of the Old Testament, and to post-apostolic Christian writings. We see, for example, that—

Justin Martyr and Theophilus attributed inspiration to the Sibylline books, and those of the Persian Hystaspes. Clement of Alexandria († cir. 220) appears to hold that every extraordinary talent and all knowledge of the true and good is the result of divine influence—is inspired. He also says that among heathen

[1] *Catechesis*, XVI : 4.

as well as Jews, God endowed distinguished men with prophetic gifts. He here refers to philosophers.

Tertullian gives the impression that he also regarded every writing useful for edification as inspired.[1]

Origen († 254), thought that perhaps a place in the canon should be assigned to the Shepherd of Hermas.

Cyprian († 258) declared that he was favored with visions, and speaks of writing certain epistles under the inspiration of God.[2]

These facts do indeed show that the ideas of these church-fathers upon the subject of inspiration were in some respects indefinite, but the reason is not far to seek. Some of them were acquainted with the Old Testament only as existing in the version of the Seventy, and therefore were inclined to view it with that reverence which later orthodoxy accorded only to the Hebrew original. It is to be remembered also that the canon of the New Testament was not yet finally determined in the consciousness of the church. More accurate investigations in this department had yet to be made. A more exact definition of inspiration itself had yet to be supplied, and a more scientific theory of the same to be developed.

On the other hand, it is to be observed that the church never committed itself to the sanction of any of the doctrinal vagaries of individual fathers with reference to the sacred Scriptures and their divine inspiration. Certain it is that 'always, everywhere and by all' a higher *degree* of inspiration was attributed to the Old and New Testaments than to any other writings, one that implied a clear and absolute infallibility of essential contents, and a unique divine character.

Clement of Alexandria, who perhaps dwells more at length than any other ante-Nicene writer upon this aspect of the subject, while he concedes a kind of inspiration to the philosophers, and thinks the Holy Ghost had imparted some truths to them, in other passages expressly concedes that they have fallen into error; but he says of the Old and New Testaments: "I could cite many other passages of which no point remains unfulfilled, for the mouth of the Lord, the Holy Ghost, has spoken it."[3]

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[1] *De Cultu Fem.*, c. 3.

[2] *Epist.* lxiii., lxxvii.

[3] *Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. 9.

Tertullian declared that the apostles were made possessors of the *fulness* of the Holy Ghost, while all others shared his gifts only *in measure.*[1] This would probably express the general judgment of the ancient church concerning his divine relation to the different classes of writings.[2]

IV. The Nature of Inspiration.

No formal definition of inspiration, nor any connected systematic doctrine of the same was established during the period with which we are now concerned.

At the very first, the church seems to have contented herself with the conviction of the apostolic authority of the authors, and the conceded truth of the contents of the sacred books. Soon, however, questionings began to arise respecting the *nature* of the divine influence under which the various writers did their work. Two diverging views were developed among the ante-Nicene fathers.

1. The first and stricter one was, as is evident, of heathen origin, and was mixed up with ideas of heathen soothsaying. Starting from the idea of the *prophet* as the interpreter of Deity, —a conception common to Christianity with other forms of faith— it taught an overwhelming of the human mind and spirit by divine power, though probably never in such an absolute and unqualified sense as in Montanism and classic paganism.

2. The second more sober and liberal theory had its source in Palestinian Judaism, and conceives the divine influence as exerted rather in the way of 'in-spiriting,' furthering and assisting the life and the writing of the holy men.

The real difference between the two views was involved in the question at issue, viz.: Whether the condition of ecstasy in

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[1] *Exhort. ad Cast.*, c. 4.

[2] If *some* of the ante-Nicene fathers did fail to grasp (and this is by no means certain) the generic and fundamental distinction between supernatural inspiration bestowed upon prophets and apostles, and mere divine illumination vouchsafed to them and their contemporaries, they were only the precursors of a long array of reputedly able and orthodox writers on inspiration in the church of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whose ideas upon this point are certainly confused.

the penmen was essential as a guarantee of the supernatural character of the prophecies and other Scriptures.

Representatives of the former opinion were found chiefly among the Apologists.

Justin Martyr speaks of the divine plectrum itself descending from heaven, and using righteous men like a harp or lyre.[1]

Again: "When you hear the utterances of the apostles, spoken as it were personally, you must not suppose that they are spoken by the inspired themselves, but by the divine Word who moves them."[2]

Athenagoras employs a figure similar to that of Justin, saying: "The Spirit made use of the prophets, as a flute-player breathes into a flute."[3]

He also describes the condition of those who were under the influence of inspiration, as a condition of ecstasy. "Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah and other prophets, lifted in ecstasy above the natural operations of their own minds, by the impulses of the divine Spirit, uttered the things with which they were inspired."[4]

Theophilus similarly calls the sacred writers 'instruments, organs of God.'

The use of the figure of musical instruments in this connection was probably borrowed from Philo, and shows that as his mind was impregnated with heathen notions concerning the nature and process of inspiration, so the minds of most of the Apologists were tainted with the same. This indeed seems natural, when we remember that they were trained in heathenism, and that their first knowledge of Christian truth was not the result of logical thought, but was referred solely to revelation and the action of the Spirit of God. The whole conception could not fail to receive powerful impression from traditional habits of thought respecting the Sibyls, the Pythian priestess and other seers and soothsayers of antiquity. The evidence here is cumulative, and cannot be given in detail, but will repay careful study,[5] provided only it be constantly borne in mind that the idea of

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[1] *Cohort. ad Græc.*, c. viii.

[2] *First Apol.*, c. xxxvi.

[3] *Legat. pro Christ.*, c. ix.

[4] *Ad Autol.*, ii. 9.

[5] Nitzsch, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 259–60.

prophecy formed the point of departure in all discussions of this age upon the nature of the inspiration of the sacred books.[1]

[It is worthy of note, in passing, that Rudelbach, in common with various other orthodox writers, has made labored, though ineffectual attempts,[2] to clear Justin Martyr and other early fathers from the charge of holding essentially heathen ideas upon the nature of inspiration. He seeks to explain away the inferences naturally drawn from their use of the figure of musical instruments, and thinks they did not with Philo make ecstasy a fundamental element of prophecy, nor teach a motionless and unconscious passivity, but rather an elevated and illuminated rational consciousness in the inspired seer. The apologetic and polemic aim, however, in Rudelbach, Lee[3], Bannerman,[4] and others who have attempted partial sketches of the development of the doctrine of inspiration, is stronger than the true historic instinct.]

The view thus indicated of prophetic inspiration, as presupposing a passive state of absolute receptivity, continued in the main the controlling one, until toward the middle of the third century. It reached its climax and wrought its own ruin in the fanatical excesses of Montanism, when God-sent madness or insanity was demanded as the test of the true prophet. The *subject* of inspiration here sank into a state of delirium and took leave of his senses; his spirit slept under the sole and forceful waking, moving influence of the Paraclete. Thus Tertullian says: "To grace ecstasy or rapture is incident. For when a man is rapt in the Spirit, especially when he beholds the glory of God, or when God speaks through him, he necessarily loses his sensation (*excidat sensu*), because he is overshadowed with the power of God."[5] Nitzsch thus comments: "The Montanists sought in ecstasy as a supernatural medium of the conception of the divine, at the same time the satisfaction of a kind of mystical voluptuousness; and, moreover, this is to them, not only

[1] Cremer, 747.

[2] *Zeitschr. für die Gesammt. Luth. Theol., Erst. Quart.*, 27.

[3] *Inspiration of the Scriptures*, 86–8.

[4] *Inspiration of the Scriptures*, 122–4.

[5] *Adv. Marc.*, iv : 22.

for the sacred writers, but above all for their own new prophets, the sufficient means of inspiration."[1]

From the time of Aurelius at least (A.D. 161–80), the more liberal view of inspiration had its advocates (though in a minority), and it indicated the progressive drift of thought; but only in the general reaction of the church against Montanism did it come to the surface, assert itself with energy, and finally after the middle of the third century become controlling in the church. The aim henceforward was the rigid exclusion of all heathen elements from the conception, especially the idea of ecstasy or suspension of the human consciousness in the sacred writers. A human as well as a divine side was reckoned to inspiration, the elevated self-consciousness and spontaneous activity of the person filled with the Holy Ghost. This freer view was chiefly, though not exclusively, represented in the school of Alexandria.

The author of the Clementine Homilies holds that the prophecy of the true prophet is not ecstatic; he does not speak in a state of madness, but knows what he says. Beholding it, he reveals it. And what he reveals, he reveals clearly, unambiguously. He does not utter doubts and uncertainties.

Miltiades, an Apologist, wrote, according to Eusebius,[2] a treatise in the reign of Aurelius, to prove that it was not needful for the prophet to speak in ecstasy.

Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromata*, designates ecstasy as a characteristic of false prophets and of the Evil Spirit. If he compares mankind in general to an instrument upon which the Logos plays, it is in a very different sense from Philo and Athenagoras, who represent it as a merely passive organ of revelation.[3]

Origen, if not the pioneer in this process of theological purgation, certainly did much to establish upon grounds of reason, and to fix indelibly in the consciousness of the church the higher view which in his day was surely, if slowly and irregularly, working its way to recognition. He reckoned inspiration as belonging to the circle of church doctrines; and in the fourth book of his dogmatic work *De Principiis* devotes a special chapter

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1 *Dogm.-gesch.*, 261.

2 *Hist. Eccles.*, v : 17.

3 Nitzsch, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 262.

to it. He avoids the sensuous comparisons employed by the Apologists, and thus escapes their errors.

Origen made at least a first approach to a more exact definition of the nature and process of inspiration, understanding by it not the mere inpouring of foreign thoughts, but an elevation of the natural powers of the soul through the touch of the Holy Ghost.

Though he expresses doubts upon some important points, e. g., whether inspiration extends to every passage of the word of God, yet his heart and the general tenor of his teaching was true at bottom, as when he says in one of his homilies: "The holy books contain the fulness of the Spirit, and neither in the law, nor in the prophets, nor in the apostolic writings is there anything which has not its origin in the fulness of the divine Majesty."

The same general view was maintained by his pupils and successors.

V. Degrees of Inspiration.

We have seen above that both Palestinian and Alexandrian Judaism distinguish degrees in inspiration. The same thing is done by some of the ante-Nicene fathers, though from a different point of view.

Origen makes the degree of inspiration dependent upon the moral state of the subject, i. e., upon the measure of his moral and personal appropriation of the divine. He places the prophetic writings above all others, as beginning with 'Thus saith the Lord.' He values the gospels more highly than the epistles, because, though Jesus and Paul were both filled with the Holy Ghost, the vessel of the latter was much smaller than that of the former.[1] He speaks of the apostolic writings as 'full of wisdom and trustworthy,' but doubts whether Paul intended to range his own under the head of 'Scripture given by inspiration of God,' (2 Tim. 3 : 16). He calls attention to the fact that Paul makes a difference in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, between what he said *in his own spirit*, and *in the spirit of Christ*. The former utterances, he says, 'are spoken under divine impulse, and have authority and weight, but are not to be

[1] *Homily on Luke*, xxix.

derived strictly and immediately from divine revelation."[1] [This is one of the points on which, as above indicated, there seems to have been some wavering in Origen's own mind.] He also ranks Paul one degree higher than Timothy and Luke, and finds greater perfection in Romans than in any other of the Pauline epistles.

2. Tertullian indeed admits degrees in inspiration, but refers them, not to the sacred writers as compared among themselves, but to Christ, the apostles and prophets on the one hand, and ordinary Christians on the other. His views, therefore, are not pertinent to our present inquiry.

3. Novatian taught[2] that the same Holy Spirit was in prophets and apostles, but to the former it was given only at certain times and in smaller measure, while upon the latter it was bestowed in its fulness, and as a perpetual endowment. This writer clearly held that the inspiration apparent in the *writings* of the apostles was not the result of a *special* divine influence, but was only a part of the general divine assistance vouchsafed them in all their work.

VI. Verbal Inspiration.

Did the early fathers extend the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures to their *form* and *expression*, as well as their substance? This is a most important question in connection with the ante-Nicene doctrine of inspiration. It is generally, though not universally, answered by writers on doctrine-history *in the affirmative.* The facts are substantially as follows:

1 Justin Martyr says: "The holy men needed no art of words nor skill in captious and contentious speaking," etc.[3]

2. Irenæus seems not only to have believed in verbal inspiration in general, but (if we may deduce his general view from one special passage), to have held that the Holy Spirit selected the words from special foresight of the needs of future ages. Thus he remarks: "Matthew might certainly have said (in the beginning of his gospel), 'Now the birth of JESUS was on this wise;' but the Holy Ghost, foreseeing that corrupters would arise, (viz.,

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[1] *Com. on Jno.*, Vol. I: c. 4.

[2] *De Trinitate*, c. 29.

[3] *Cohort. ad Græcos*, c. 8.

the Gnostics who wished to distinguish between Jesus and Christ) and guarding by anticipation against their deceit, says: 'But the birth of CHRIST was on this wise.'"[1]

Yet the same father acknowledges imperfections[2] in the style of Paul, and attributes them to the impetuosity and fire of the apostle—in short, to his temperament.

3. Tertullian seems clear and explicit in his declarations: "Our sacred Scriptures," he says, "are the very words and letters of God." As a Montanist he could consistently hold no other view than that of absolute dictation; yet expressions occur which it is hard logically to reconcile with this belief. His general position, however, cannot be considered doubtful.

4. Clement of Alexandria says: "Truly holy are those letters that sanctify and deify, and the writings that consist of those holy letters and syllables, this same apostle (Paul) calls inspired of God."[3]

5. Origen appears to accept verbal inspiration without qualification, holding that every iota of the Scriptures has a special value;[4] yet one finds scattered in his writings passages which seem inconsistent with this view, as e. g. when he calls attention to solecisms in the language of the sacred writers.

6. Eusebius[5] may be credited with the same opinion, since he considers 'each one who proposes to alter the words of the Bible as esteeming himself wiser than the Holy Ghost.'

From these and similar testimonies the inference may be drawn that among the ante-Nicene fathers verbal inspiration was in some sense a general article of faith, though some wavered, and it is hard to say just how much weight is to be given to individual utterances.

Nitzsch[6] endeavors to explain away the force of such testimonies as we have quoted above, and maintains that, apart from the ecstatics (Athenagoras, the Montanists, etc.,) no church teacher positively and consistently taught the theory of verbal inspiration.

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[1] *Adv. Hær.*, iii : 16, 2.

[2] Id., iii : 7, 2.

[3] *Cohort. ad Gentes*, c. ix.

[4] *Homily on Jeremiah.*

[5] *Hist. Eccl.*, v : 28.

[6] *Dogm.-gesch.*, 263.

General Conclusions.

As the general result of our survey of the history of the doctrine of inspiration during the first three centuries, we see that the Christian church inherited the idea as a legacy from the Jewish, and extended it to the writings of the New Testament. It was for the most part an article of faith, rather than the subject of curious speculations. No definite and artificial theory was as yet established. As a consequence, differing views as to the nature and extent of the same, and all doubtful utterances are to be referred, not to the great fact itself, but to the lack of clear and systematic doctrinal development.

D. POST-NICENE AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF INSPIRATION TO THE CLOSE OF ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY. 325—750 A. D.

It will be convenient, for the sake of brevity, to group together the next four hundred and twenty-five years in one survey.

Henceforward inspiration and kindred questions occupy relatively a less important place in the development of doctrine. It is easy to account for this.

1. The age of apologies was past, and the Montanistic heresy had received its death-blow, so that there seemed neither reason nor interest in prolonging a war of words.

2. In the great doctrinal controversies which now emerged, and which for centuries engrossed the attention of the church, the subject did not come under special discussion. The *fact* of inspiration was universally conceded, as it always had been. The idea lay deep in the consciousness of the church, though the dogmatic conception was not as yet strictly and accurately defined.

3. A rival to the sole supremacy of the Scriptures was rapidly growing up within the church: viz., the authority of the hierarchy, especially that of the united body in council assembled. Conciliar decisions were viewed as inspired, therefore as infallible, and of binding force upon the conscience. They were proclaimed as utterances of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost. Inspiration thus came to be a permanent attribute of the body eccle-

siastical, and was no longer viewed as the exclusive possession of a written code.

I. The Nature of Inspiration.

In general throughout this long period, though perhaps more especially at its beginning and its close, ideas on this subject were strict—frequently exaggerated, sometimes utterly inconsistent. We notice—

1. That the theologians of the Nicene age inherited from their predecessors a tendency to emphasize strongly the difference between the inspiration of heathenism and that of their own sacred books. Eusebius attempted to set forth and explain the points of difference. A summary of his statements is given from an old German writer.

a. The oracular responses are absurd, immoral and impious, both in themselves and in the practical results to which they lead in human life. On the other hand, men who 'speak as moved by the Holy Ghost,' dissuade from idolatry and heathen crimes, and reveal Christ, the great Teacher and Redeemer.

b. Demoniac influence darkens the mind, and deprives it of the use of reason, so that the inspired appear frantic. The divine Spirit, on the other hand, who is himself the purest light, illumines the soul, and thus fits it for the apprehension of supersensuous things. The inspired remain sober and awake, understand and pass judgment on the things they utter.

c. Heathen oracles are made known through unworthy men or through animals; God's Spirit, on the other hand, honors only such men with his influence as have rendered themselves fit for the same by the practice of virtue.

2. It is clear, without further illustration, that the church held rigidly for a considerable period to the idea, so emphasized by Origen and others, of the *elevation* and *illumination*, not the *suppression* of the human consciousness of the person under divine influence.

3. Quite inconsistently, there was still a strong tendency among most of the Nicene and later fathers to make the sacred writers the mere instruments of the Holy Spirit, who is the sole author of Scripture, even in the process of recording.

[This is seen in the legend of the loss of the Jewish sacred

writings during the Exile, and their restoration by Ezra through the power of the Holy Ghost.]

a. Chrysostom († 407) says that 'John and Paul in their writings did not speak themselves, but that God spoke through them."[1]

He also calls the 'the mouth of the prophets and apostles the mouth of God."[2]

b. Augustine († 430) speaks of the apostles as 'the hands who wrote down what was dictated by Christ the head."[3] He calls Holy Scripture, 'the venerable stylus of the Holy Ghost,' and declares that 'no word and no syllable in the Bible is superfluous, and without great and deep meaning.'

"I have learned to render to those books of Scripture alone which are now called canonical, reverence and honor to such a degree that I most firmly believe that no one of the authors erred in writing anything."[4]

c. Theodoret († 457) held it to be a matter of indifference who wrote any of the sacred books, since the Holy Ghost was the *real* author.

d. Cassiodorus († 562) speaks of the Bible as 'a writing which was not invented by human reason, but by a heavenly power was poured into the holy men.' Here is represented the infusion both of ideas and words.

e. Gregory the Great († 604) said 'it was superfluous to ascertain the author of any book of the Bible, since the Holy Ghost was the real author of the same;' and 'it was absurd when one read the writing of a great monarch to ask what pen it was written with.'

4. Though the activity of the Holy Ghost in inspiration was the main and generally engrossing thought, it is yet true that the human element was not wholly overlooked. Something was yet attributed to the individuality and spontaneity of the sacred writers themselves.

a. Chrysostom notices the alleged discrepancies in the Gospels, but attributes them to the nature and pecularity of historical

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[1] *Evangel. Joh.*, Hom. I.

[2] *Acta Apost.*, Hom. XIX.

[3] *De Consens. Evangel.*, I : 35.

[4] *Epist.* 82, I : 3.

composition as a human art.[1] Viewing them as intrinsically unimportant, he yet finds in them valuable evidence of the trustworthiness of the writers in all essential facts.[2]

c. Jerome († 420) entertained similar ideas. He had no hesitation in acknowledging peculiarities of expression and conception, and differences in less weighty matters among the apostles. These are of purely human, not of divine origin. He finds various literary defects in Paul's epistles, and more than these, some traces of a spirit not altogether Christian. Yet he views the whole human side of the Scriptures as subserving in God's providential order important apologetic ends.

c. Augustine, speaking of the minor differences of the Evangelists, says: "It is evident that they have set forth these matters just in accordance with the recollection which each retained of them, and just according as their several predilections led them to employ greater brevity or richer detail."[3]

d. Quite in the same line do Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429) and Theodoret, among the Antiochian church-teachers, affirm characteristic peculiarities in the human authors of Scripture, and in their methods of conceiving truth.

e. Basil the Great († 379) compares the sacred writers to mirrors, whose surfaces, according to the degree of their polish and clearness, condition the reception and reflection of the images.

5. From what has been already said, especially from the extracts given, one may form a general idea of patristic views as to the nature of inspiration in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries. From these views there were, in the case of individuals, notable deviations.

a. Theodore of Mopsuestia looked at the inspiration of the sacred books chiefly from the *human* point of view. He maintained, in regard to the writings of Solomon, i. e., Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, that their author had not the gift of *prophecy*, but only that of *wisdom*. The Song of Songs was a merely human writing —an offensive poem of Solomon's, composed on the occasion of his illegal marriage with an Egyptian princess. Theodore dealt very

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[1] Neander, *Hist. of Chr. Dogm.*, I : 280–1.

[2] *Homily on Matt.*, I : 2.

[3] *De Consens. Evangel.*, II : 12 (p. 232).

freely also with the book of Job, censuring the author for ambition, and for offensive allusions to heathen mythology. Some truer ideas seem also to have taken possession of his mind. He made a distinction between the conscious thought and intent of the sacred writers themselves, and of the higher mind and meaning of the Spirit who spoke through them. He also combatted the ideas of those who were supremely bent on finding a full-fledged system of theology in the Old Testament. Unfortunately his zeal carried him too far in the opposite direction. For these and other heresies he was condemned by the Fifth Œcumenical Council, 553 A. D.

Equally unorthodox ideas appear in the writings of Junilius, an African bishop of the sixth century. Thus in answer to the question, 'How is the authority of the sacred books to be considered?' he replies: "Some are of perfect authority, some of partial authority, and some of none at all."[1] In the second class, he enumerates Job, Chronicles, Ezra, etc.; in the third, our Old Testament Apocrypha.

II. Degrees of Inspiration.

In regard to this it is sufficient to say that such difference was not and could not generally be admitted by the church of this age, being precluded by prevailing views as to the nature of the divine influence exerted upon the human organs. Certain writers, however, appear to favor it, viz.: Basil and Theodore of Mopsuestia just quoted.

III. Verbal Inspiration.

This was most commonly recognized, as will appear by consulting the citations given above under I: 1. It was believed that in the sacred records there exists nothing in any wise superflous. Every word and syllable has an important aim, and every proposition embraces in itself an inexhaustible richness of thought.

IV. General Conclusions.

In one word, at the close of ancient Christianity, little interest was felt in the question of inspiration. It was quite overshad-

[1] *De Part. Div. Leg.*, I: 8.

owed by others of greater apparent importance. The strictest ideas prevailed both as to its nature and extent, but these were based upon merely mechanical assent to the statements of earlier fathers, and not upon any intelligent and impartial investigations of the facts and teachings of the sacred records themselves. There was a relapse toward the ideas and views of paganism and Alexandrian Judaism upon the subject. Like many other vital doctrines of theology, that of inspiration seemed to suffer a well-nigh total eclipse.

E. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. 750—1517 A. D.

The Middle Ages constitute almost a blank in the history of the doctrine of inspiration—in fact quite a blank, so far as progressive development is concerned. The subject was indeed discussed in the general connection of the Scholastic system, but there was little interest in it, primarily because a continuously inspired church and infallible tradition occupied in the minds of the multitude the place of religious authority otherwise ascribed to an inspired book. The orthodox belief generally remained in the ascendant, but ideas were exaggerated and indefinite. This appears from the fact that now, as at the very first among the Apologists, *prophecy* formed the great centre around which the whole conception turned.

The utterances of the Mediæval theologians on inspiration are so few, vague and disjointed as to be incapable of classification under proper headings. We must be content here to state the views of a few authors in chronological order.

I. John of Damascus.

John of Damascus, († circ. 760), is the first writer who comes under our notice. Though he attempted the construction of a doctrinal system, and 'concentrated in himself the expiring energies of Greek theology,' yet he makes no definite deliverance on this subject. He employs revelation and Holy Scripture as interchangeable terms and says:[1] "By the Holy Ghost,

[1] *De Fide Orthod.*, IV., c. 17.

both law and prophets, evangelists, apostles, pastors and teachers spoke. "'All Scripture, therefore, is given by inspiration of God,' 2. Tim. 3: 16." Little more than this can be gleaned from his writings.

II. Fridegisus.

Fridegisus, Abbot of Tours and pupil of Alcuin, appears as an advocate of verbal inspiration in the most rigid sense, maintaining that the divine Spirit inspired not only the meaning of the Scriptures, their contents and methods of expression, but actually formed the very words in the mouths of the writers. He appears also to extend infallibility even to translators and commentators.[1]

III. Agobard.

Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons († 841) stoutly opposed these extreme views, and held them up to ridicule, by showing the absurd consequences to which they led.[2] He had some conceptions of, though he did not fully develop, the distinction of the divine and human elements in the Scriptures.[3] He conceded also the existence of grammatical inaccuracies there, which, however, should be attributed not to the Holy Ghost, but to man, who is responsible for the form of the language. The essence of inspiration consists in the general character of the contents, not in the mere words themselves.

IV. Euthymius Zigabenus.

Euthymius Zigabenus (about 1116) indirectly discloses his views respecting inspiration, when he accounts for the insertion of given particulars in one gospel, and their omission in another, by the fact of the greater or less completeness and exactness of the recollections of the writers. This again is explained by the fact that they composed their narratives at some considerable time after the occurrence of the events themselves.[4]

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[1] Hagenbach, *Hist. Doct.*, I : 425.

[2] *Adv. Fridegis.*, c. 12.

[3] Neander, *Church History.*

[4] *Comment. Matt.*, XII : 8.

V. Anselm.

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1109) indulged in no sceptical questionings of the orthodox theory of inspiration, but set himself to give a rational account of the contents of his faith concerning it. He devoted whole nights to the consideration of various intricate questions connected with the dogma, especially how the prophets could view the future as present. By a broad generalization from a kind of vision in which he was enabled to look through a stone wall and see the monks celebrating mass, he concluded that as space had been annihilated for him, so the other dimension was done away for the prophets under inspiration. Things to come were revealed to them as present.

This method of argumentation certainly possessed the method of *originality*, if no other excellence.

VI. Abelard.

Abelard's († 1142) whole conception of the doctrine of inspiration was very loose. In the introduction to his *Sic et Non*, he explicitly denied that prophets and apostles were infallible.[1] He distinguished degrees in the bestowment of the divine influence, and held that the prophets did not always speak under the impulse of the Spirit, even when they thought they did. They were allowed to mingle truth with error, and the natural with the supernatural, in order to keep them humble, and lead them to discriminate more carefully between their own utterances and those proceeding from the Spirit of God.

VII. Thomas Aquinas.

Thomas († 1274) expresses himself upon the question of inspiration with more fulness, precision and clearness than is usual with the Scholastics. He makes God the author of Scripture, but like Abelard admits degrees in the divine influence exerted upon the sacred writers. He distinguishes express revelation from an instinct which the human mind may possess sometimes unconsciously. This *divine instinct* is a lower degree of inspiration than *prophetic certainty*.[2] Thomas also

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[1] *Sic et Non.*, Edn. Cousin, p. 11.

[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, II : 295.

calls attention to the fact that divine illumination may relate to strictly supernatural matters, or may merely be designed to give perfect certainty concerning those things which the human mind can apprehend by its own unaided powers. The former is exemplified in the case of the authors of the Hagiographa, the latter in the prophets properly so called. The nearer to Christ the greater was the degree of illumination, until when Christ came the mystery of the Trinity was revealed. For this reason the writers of the New Testament rank higher than Moses.[1]

Revelation may be made in four ways: through *inward enlightenment*, which elevates the mental powers, through the *communication of ideas*, through *images of the imagination* and through the *perception of sensuous objects*, as e. g. the burning bush of Moses. Thomas does not appear to have regarded the activity of the Holy Spirit in inspiration as violent, or as crippling in any way the spontaneity of his human organs.

VIII. The Scholastics.

These theologians generally did little toward defining and developing the idea of inspiration. For the most part they accepted the traditional doctrine, assumed it as a first principle admitted by all, and made it a basis for further theological investigation. There seemed to be no need of proving, explaining or applying that which was unquestioned in the church.

IX. The Mystics.

The Mystics had naturally,— or at least should have had,— a keener sense of the divine wisdom and power displayed in the composition of the Scriptures, than the average Scholastic. To the Bible the more evangelical among them adhered, confessing it to be in some special sense the Word of God. Yet the truly Biblical idea of inspiration was obscured, if not wholly lost, for the great majority of them, by belief in the continued presence of this miraculous power in the church, and by confounding the nature of inspiration proper with that of divine illumination in general. Abstraction from the outward, close contemplation of

[1] Cremer, 753.

things eternal and divine,—even the immediate vision of the face of God was not only possible to man, but was the free privilege of him who would seek it in the way appointed. Divine visits and immediate revelations were esteemed matters of common experience among men of their own school of faith. They thus became objects of lawful desire and expectation. All this, indeed the whole grotesque and exaggerated conception of the supernatural in mediæval Christianity, tended to obliterate the distinction between the immediate inspiration bestowed upon prophets and apostles, and the general enlightenment of ordinary believers.

Another tendency of Mysticism operated in the same direction. Absorption in God, loss of human will, desire and consciousness in the divine, of course meant the identification of man with God. Deity dwelt, it was said, within the recesses of the human spirit, and needed only to be roused to activity; every objective element in religion must retire before that which is subjective—what was this but pantheism, and that more than half-fledged? Not a few among the mystic sects went quite over, embracing pantheistic tenets in all their length and breadth. No doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures, it is plain, could find room here. There was nothing to distinguish it from the ravings of fanatical enthusiasm on the one hand, or the phenomena of human genius on the other.

Save in the development of a biblical tendency, mysticism contributed little to the growth and progress of the great doctrine with which we are concerned.

1. *Tauler.*

John Tauler († 1361), a noted evangelical mystic, has an utterance on inspiration which may be worth quoting, as relating to the extent of the divine influence upon the sacred writers in secular matters.[1]

"Did the disciple in the highest school of the Spirit obtain an insight into all those sciences which are learned in the school of nature? I answer 'Yes'; it was given them to understand all science, whether touching the courses of the heavenly bodies or what not, in so far as it might conduce to God's glory, or con-

[1] But see *Tauler's Bekehrung von H. S. Denifle;* also review of same in *Presbyterian Review,* July, 1881.

cern the salvation of man; but those points of science which bear no fruits for the soul, they were not given to know."

X. Forerunners of the Reformation.

It is to those who are usually called 'forerunners of the Reformation' that we naturally look for the fullest, clearest and loftiest ideas of inspiration possible to this age. But our expectations are only partially realized.

1. *Wiclif.*

We search the writings of Wiclif (†1384) in vain for any extended formal discussion of the subject, though he published a treatise, '*Of the Truth of Holy Scripture.*' Bred to scholastic habits of thought, and to the acceptance of prevalent views respecting the two-fold source of Christian knowledge in reason and authority (which latter, nominally including Scripture, really meant ecclesiastical tradition), the reformer could work his way but slowly to that point where he could openly confess the exclusive and decisive divine authorityof Scripture. He says that Scripture '*is* the word of God'—that 'it is the will and testament of God the Father, which cannot be broken'—and yet again that 'God and his word are one, and cannot be separated the one from the other'.[1] He declares Christ to be the proper author of Scripture, and infers from this fact its absolute authority. As Christ is infinitely superior to every other man, so is the book which is his law to every other writing which can be named.[2] He makes the Bible the supreme standard by which even the doctrines of the church-fathers are to be tried.

While missing, then, in Wiclif all abstract discussions of the question of inspiration, especially theorizings as to its nature or extent, we do see his ardent belief in the *fact* brought out, and the general complexion of his views. We are really at no loss to know where he stood.

2. *Savonarola.*

Savonarola († 1495) was orthodox in reference to our doctrine according to the idea of his time, though his opinions had a de-

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[1] Lechler, *Life of Wiclif*, II: 19–20.

[2] Id., p. 20.

cidedly mystical tinge. He attributed unique inspiration to the Scriptures, but conceived that the energy and operation of the Holy Ghost were directed rather to impressing truth on the minds and hearts of his human organs, than to mechanical composition upon tables of stone or pieces of parchment. He held that the inspired writers retained their self-consciousness, spontaneity and other individual mental characteristics. He fell, however, into the common error of maintaining the *continuance* of inspiration, which he attributed, in the form of prophecy, to himself.

3. *John Wessel.*

Wessel (†1489), who was a contemporary of Savonarola, treats the question of inspiration at length, but in such a way as to show that his ideas were not free from confusion, especially as to the *nature* of the process. As Ullmann expresses it: "On the one hand, as he is convinced, a certain amount of imperfection cleaves to every human notion of revelation. The subject is never exhausted in the description; the substance always stretches beyond the form." "On the other hand, he adheres firmly to the strict notion of inspiration, and looks upon Scripture, both in its totality and in its minutest facts, as a thoroughly divine work."[1]

XI. The Jewish Doctrine.

The Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages sought to build up a theory of inspiration upon the foundation of the Talmud and Aristotelic philosophy. The tracing of its details is of no special importance to our immediate purpose. A few general statements will suffice.

Like the early Christian Apologists, and the contemporary Schoolmen, the Rabbins could conceive the doctrine only from the standpoint and under the typical form of *prophecy.* Their development of the same was marred by gross contradictions. They wavered notably in their idea of the

1. *Nature*

of the prophetic condition. Sometimes it was represented as one, not merely of pure passivity, but of absolute ecstasy in the strictest sense of the word.[2] Maimonides declares that every vision is

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[1] *Reformers before the Reformation*, II : 420.

[2] Rudelbach, *Zeitsch. für die Gesammt. Luther. Theol.*, *Zweit. Quart.*, 54.

accompanied with a state of panic terror, and that all the senses rest from their functions.[1] He quotes Daniel x: 8 ff. in proof of his assertion.

None the less was it maintained that the seer could exercise his office only in a calm and joyous frame of mind, because 'prophecy could not dwell amid confusion of the senses or pain, but only in the midst of joy.[1]

Rudelbach observes that both of these definitions must be taken as imperfect attempts to explain that which the Scripture embraces under the common name of prophecy.[2]

2. *Degrees.*

Various degrees of inspiration in prophecy were admitted. Maimonides attempted to determine them at 'eleven or eight,' of which the first two could only by a figure of speech be reckoned to the head of prophecy. Albo reduced these to four, and Abarbanel to three, corresponding to the three-fold division of the Jewish Scriptures into the Law, Prophets and Hagiographa.[3] The Law embodied the highest stage of prophecy, and was the fountain-head of revelation; the Prophets ranked next, while the Hagiographa, being given not by the 'Spirit of prophecy,' but only by that of 'holiness,' could not be considered as in any real sense inspired at all.[3]

Maimonides (†1104), the only one of the later Jewish doctors whose opinion is of especial historical importance, far from conceding that the Bible was the pure product of the divine activity upon the human spirit, saw in it a book differing from other books, even on its religious side, not in kind, but only in degree. The mediæval Spanish rabbi here shaped the thinking of the great Jewish pantheist of the seventeenth century, Spinoza, through him influenced the later German rationalism, and thus powerfully, though mediately, the English thought of our own age.

XII. General Conclusions.

If now we ask what is the significance of the Middle Ages, as a whole, for the history of our doctrine, it is hard to make answer.

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[1] Maimon., *Moreh Nebuchim*, P. II., c. 41.

[2] *Zeitsch. für die Ges. Luth. Theol.*, *Zw. Quart.*, 54.

[3] Rudelbach, *Zeitsch. &c.*, 57.

So far as progressive development is concerned, really nothing. In the general preparation for the Reformation, however, especially for the enunciation of its formal principle of the sole authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice—above all in the growth of the biblical factor in mysticism, we may trace the opening of the way for the subsequent definition, formulation and elevation of the doctrine to its proper place in the system of Protestant theology.

F. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION DURING THE REFORMATION ERA.

As Scholasticism left the idea of inspiration undeveloped, so the views of the leading reformers on the subject were in many respects indefinite. The matter did not come up for specific discussion, inasmuch as it did not form a subject of controversy with Rome. All parties agreed that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God, and authoritative in matters of faith and practice. Subordinate differences, however, did exist among the reformers in reference to the nature and extent of inspiration; and these appear, not as formally stated in express theories, but rather as incidentally developed in various utterances concerning the Holy Scriptures.

I. Erasmus.

It lay, as Kahnis admits,[1] in the very nature of Humanism, with all its emphasis of the biblical principle, to take a very free view of the human side of Scripture. Thus Erasmus (†1536) said: "Only Christ is free from error. The authority of Scripture is not destroyed if the sacred writers do sometimes disagree in word or meaning, provided only there remains unmoved the sum total of that upon which rests our salvation.

The divine Spirit who controlled the minds of the apostles suffered them to be ignorant of some things,—sometimes to mistake and err in judgment or affection, though never to the prejudice of the gospel."

This utterance he subsequently recalled.

[1] *Luther. Dogm.*, I:274.

II. Luther.

The general attitude of Luther on the subject of inspiration was that of freedom, though in matters of detail it must be confessed that he stands in dogmatic contradiction with himself. All becomes clear only upon careful consideration, both of the man himself in his personal character and experience, and of the theologian, especially his views on the general doctrine of the Scriptures. This lies beyond our present purpose. We can attempt only the briefest outline of the subject immediately in question.

1. Luther calls the Bible 'the greatest and best book of God,' sees in it the 'living truth of the Holy Spirit,' and exalts it as 'the only source of knowledge of the pure apostolic word,' and as 'the only test and rule of the Christian life.'

2. He concedes a union of the divine and human factors in inspiration: and it is in this very distinction that one finds the secret of his two-fold and apparently inconsistent method of speaking of the Scriptures. The Holy Spirit, by his illuminating power, secured in the minds of the biblical writers all needful knowledge of divine truth, but this truth took on a human form, and thus became their inward personal possession. These writers made use of their own faculties in the attainment of historical knowledge, 'but they sifted it, arranged it, and set it in the true divine light by the power of the illuminating Spirit working in them.'[1] Thus Luther calls the books of Moses, 'writings of the Holy Ghost,' while he supposes that the legislator derived his laws from the traditional customs of the fathers of the Jewish nation. Of the prophets, he says: "Doubtless the prophets studied Moses, and the later prophets studied the earlier ones, and wrote down in a book their good thoughts inspired by the Holy Ghost."

All this goes to show that Luther entertained no mechanical view of inspiration, but held that the Holy Ghost made use of the human individuality of the Scripture writers as his free organs.[2]

3. As Luther insisted on the independence of faith with reference to the Scriptures, and demanded that it exercise the critical

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[1] Dorner, *Mod. Prot., Theol.*, I:255.

[2] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 275.

office with regard to the canon, we are not surprised at the way in which he himself proceeded to the practical execution of the task.

He freely conceded the existence of imperfections and errors in the sacred records, arising either from undue haste, or from forgetfulness on the part of their authors: such, e. g., as Paul's use of the allegory of Hagar and Ishmael (Gal. 4:22), and Peter's allusion to Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison (1 Peter, 3:19). 'All in the Bible is not pure silver, gold and precious stones; one must look to find along with these hay, straw, stubble.' Still no harm is done, he thinks, provided only the foundation is well laid. This is always the main thing to be regarded.[1]

It may be well to notice (though not quite germane to our immediate subject), that Luther attributed very unequal value to different books of the Old and New Testaments. Of the former, he prized the Psalms most highly, while he rejected Esther and Ecclesiastes as uncanonical, declared the history of Jonah so monstrous as to be absolutely incredible, rated Chronicles as of inferior authority to Kings, thought that other books suffered revision by unknown hands, and doubted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

In the New Testament, he assigned the chief rank to the gospel of John ('the one unique, tender, true, main gospel, far to be preferred to the others'), the Pauline epistles (especially those to the Romans, Galatians and Ephesians), and the First of Peter. The epistle of James, he designated as an 'epistle of straw,' 'with nothing evangelical about it,' because it exalts good works as related to faith. He felt the absence of the apostolic spirit in the epistle to the Hebrews, (which he attributed to Apollos,) and refused either an apostolic or prophetic character to the Apocalypse. He says: "I certainly cannot detect any trace of its having been inspired by the Holy Ghost."

He specifies certain books which he regards as the kernel and marrow of the sacred canon, because of their abundant testimony to Christ.

Witness to Christ, and not apostolic authorship is in his opinion the universal test of inspiration and canonicity. "What does not teach Christ, this is not apostolic even though Peter or

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[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III:60.

Paul teach it. And again, what teaches Christ, that is apostolic, even if Judas, Annas, Pilate and Herod teach it."[1]

We see from this that the critical spirit had been awakened in Luther's mind in reaction against the easy and unquestioning credulity of the church in which he had been trained. Although this spirit proceeded from and was governed by a living faith, rather than by a merely intellectual interest and curiosity, yet it was not sufficiently well instructed to restrain itself within due bounds.

4. To be at all consistent with himself, Luther should have resolutely rejected the strict theory of inspiration, which applied it to the form as well as to the substance—the words as well as the thoughts of the Scriptures. This he did in general. He would acknowledge no mechanical dictation of phraseology on the part of the inspiring Spirit to the sacred writers.

In his doctrine of the sacraments, however, he was compelled to contradict himself, and make everything dependent on word and letter. Here he found the Bible 'a book in which more depended on a single letter or a turn of the same, than on heaven and earth.'

5. It is evident, from what has already been said, that Luther admitted *degrees in inspiration*, which he determined according to the measure in which certain doctrines were more or less clearly, intelligibly and convincingly set forth.

III. Melancthon.

Heppe has said that no traces of a proper theory of inspiration are to be found in Melancthon. No inference, however, is to be drawn from this as to the doctrinal unsoundness of the reformer on this subject. He clearly taught the infallibility of the apostles in the *statement*, if not in the *application* of doctrinal truth.

IV. Zwingle.

Zwingle does not, in his writings, enter into detailed statements concerning the theory of inspiration. His views, however, while preserving some features in common with those of Luther, appear to have been much sounder, more churchly, and comparatively free from the exaggerations of a critical spirit. They were de-

[1] *Preface to Epistle of James.*

termined by the fact that in the Bible he found that rest from doubt and disquiet of conscience which he sought in vain from philosophy and scholasticism.

1. He held that the Scriptures are from God; that they contain the infallible revelation of his character and will, and form the only and sufficient source of knowledge in matters of faith, as well as an unerring rule in the conduct of daily life.

2. Like Luther, he seems to have conceded the existence of some distinction between the Scriptures and the word of God, finding the latter imbedded in the former like gold in the rock.

He admitted inaccuracies of historical statement in the Bible, and consequently could not predicate absolute infallibility of every writer on every subject. His words are as follows: "It is not true that the writings of all holy men are infallible; nor is it true that they do not err. This preëminence must be given to the Son of God alone, out of the whole human race."

This admission, however, did not interfere with the exalted estimate which he placed upon the Bible, or with the unique position which he assigned to it.

3. He denied the canonicity of the Apocalypse.

V. Calvin.

Calvin's views of inspiration were much stricter than those of either Luther or Zwingle, as he maintained approximately what is known as the 'plenary theory.' To mention some specific differences between Calvin and other reformers on the subject, we note:

1. He did not, like others, distinguish the form from the substance of Christian truth, but extended the influence of inspiration to both.

2. He refused to grant such free scope for the exercise of the critical spirit as Luther had done.

3. He gave preference to the *formal* over the *material* principle of the Reformation, i. e., dwelt more on the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures than on the doctrine of justification by faith.

4. He extended the infallibility and authoritativeness of the Scriptures not only to matters of doctrine, but also to those of discipline and life. Hence his presbyterian church polity and theocratic civil government for Geneva.

Calvin calls God 'the author of the Scriptures,' notes their divine majesty, and speaks of the Holy Spirit who 'uttered his voice by the mouth of the prophets.' He attributes to the sacred records the same authority as though the 'living words of God were heard from heaven;' and yet unhesitatingly concedes slight inaccuracies and errors, e. g., in citations (Matt. 27:9). He also acknowledges the human element in the biblical writers, especially in their style. "Some prophets have a brilliant style, but by such the Holy Spirit wished to show that eloquence was not wanting to him, while elsewhere he made use of a rough and uncouth style."

Calvin confessed to certain critical scruples concerning the canonicity of the Second Epistle of Peter.

VI. Followers of the Great Reformers.

Among the immediate followers of the German and Swiss reformers, opinions were propounded implying somewhat free views of inspiration. Thus—

1. Bugenhagen (†1558) says incidentally: "Consider that the evangelists wrote each for himself what they saw, and oftentimes while they record what occurred, they are heedless of the *order* of occurrences."

2. Bullinger (†1575) writes in reference to 1 Cor. 10:8: "Transcribers easily fall into error in stating numbers; but sometimes the writers were also led by treacherous memories into the commission of mistakes."

VII. Remarks on Apparent Inconsistencies in the Attitude of the Reformers toward the Scriptures.

It is difficult to study the writings of the reformers without gaining the impression that their attitude toward the Holy Scriptures was in some sense anomalous and inconsistent. On the one hand, they declare them to be of divine origin, the word of God, the sole source and standard of all religious faith and practice, and, apart from tradition, themselves alone sufficient for salvation. On the other hand, *some* of the reformers at least allow themselves such freedom in the expression of critical opinion as seems incompatible with belief in the really supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures, their infallible truth and authoritativeness in the entire range of their contents. The apparent dis-

crepancies of views and statements may be explained somewhat as follows:

1. The hierarchical church for centuries exerted herself to the utmost to suppress all independence and individuality of thought, all close investigation of the *substance* of religious truth, and especially all study of the Scriptures. By unsparing use of the powers at her command—penalties civil and ecclesiastical, terrors temporal and eternal—she in the main succeeded in her aim. As the human mind, however, must have some field for its activities, she graciously permitted a measure of freedom in dealing with the *forms* of faith. Theologians, if first supremely loyal to the church, and submissive to her arbitrary restraints upon learning, might take the material which she provided and work upon it. They might define, systematize, demonstrate and defend ancient ecclesiastical dogmas—in short, might justify to reason what had first been received by faith. This produced the scholastic theology which rose, culminated, declined and died a natural death before the time of Luther.

But if the system itself had passed away, the spirit which it nurtured, its methods and many of its most untoward efforts remained. Among these none was more disastrous than that of a subtle and acute, but superficial and cold questioning of the forms of truth—*forms*, we say, for it lacked the vitality to go below the surface to the deep reality of things.

When now the Revival of Letters opened up the treasures of classical antiquity, the sources of early Christian history, and the Scriptures themselves in their original tongues, then under the impulse inspired by Humanism, this same critical spirit, furnished with a new and worthy object, turned its attention to the whole church-system 'from turret to foundation stone.' Not only was the real character of the existing theology exposed to view, but the sources of that theology in Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition were subjected to rigid scrutiny. *One* idol of infallibility was at once destroyed, and the sceptical Humanism was not slow to ask whether a fallible element might not exist within the *other*. Not only did the Reformation movement itself in general tend to boldness of thought and freedom of inquiry, but this critical spirit, roused in reaction against the unquestioning credulity of 'mother-church,'—eager, self-confident, but not half instructed, knew not to restrain itself within due bounds; but, in regard to

problems presented by the Holy Scriptures, often jumped at conclusions from questionable premises, especially if thereby a blow might be dealt at the hierarchy and the traditional system it supported.

We do not forget that in Germany the new studies were prosecuted in a more religious spirit than elsewhere, and that literature ultimately became the handmaid of religion; neither do we claim that the spirit above described was at all that in which the reformers consciously approached the Scriptures; but we do claim that this was the atmosphere in which they grew up, and the school in which they had their training. It was not possible, humanly speaking, that they should wholly escape its influence in forming judgment of the Bible (then first made accessible), whether regard was had to its character and contents, or the influences under which it was composed.

2. On the other hand, we must give due weight to the part which *mysticism* played, not only in preparation for the Reformation in general, but especially in determining the views of the reformers with reference to the written word of God. Its influence was two-fold—helpful and harmful. It led its adherents—

a. From the abstruse, barren speculations of the schools to personal, spiritual life.

b. In its later stages, from tradition to Scripture. As the practical and biblical factors in mysticism were developed, the circulation of the Bible and of religious writings among the laity was widely extended.

c. From dependence on outward works, and faith in sacraments and ceremonies, to attention to the inward spirit and the motives which govern conduct, and to direct approach to Christ and the Holy Spirit.

d. From sermonizing in the traditional Latin, on the legends of the saints, the story of the Trojan war, and like themes, to preaching in the vernacular the doctrine of salvation by Christ.

None the less was mysticism defective (as seen in its operations during the Middle Ages) in overestimating the subjective, and underrating the objective element in religion. It regarded what Christ does *in* us rather than *for* us, and overlooked the necessity and unique divinity of the *written word*, while it exalted the 'inward light,' the personal dealings of the Holy Ghost with be-

lievers—indeed practically deified humanity. Mysticism had, it is true, been purified in proportion to the development of its biblical factor, but its (in measure at least untoward) influence upon the reformers, especially upon Luther, Zwingle and others is not only traceable outwardly, but is clearly proved by internal evidence. Example is seen in the tendency of these men to judge of Holy Scripture according to a standard purely subjective—what it had done for them in personal experience, rather than by any objective test whatever. From this point of view, defects as well as excellencieswere freely predicated of that which after all their hearts embraced and treasured as God's most precious gift to man.

Of course nothing here said will be interpreted as hinting that the reformers ever *intended* to question the supernatural inspiration of the Scriptures, deny to them supreme authority as the court of last appeal in matters of doctrine, or regard them as other than the infallible standard of perfect rectitude of life. No Christian teachers in any age, not even the advocates of the most rigid theory of mechanical inspiration, ever so exalted the dignity and glory of the Word as did the great leaders of Christian thought and life in the sixteenth century. It is simply hoped that the suggestions given may throw some light upon that which has often otherwise seemed anomalous and unaccountable.

G. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I. Lutheran.

It was, partially at least, a polemic interest and tendency that led to the abandonment of the generally free view of inspiration held by the early reformers, and the development of those extreme ideas, especially in the Lutheran theology of the seventeenth century, which wholly suppressed the human element in the composition of the sacred records, and attributed to their contents a mechanical, literal divinity. Luther's free view had been abused by the church of Rome to the furtherance of her doctrine of the insufficiency and obscurity of the Scriptures, and of the authority and supremacy of ecclesiastical tradition. Protestant

orthodoxy, however, asserted itself with vigor, not only against Romanists, but also against Arminians, Socinians and Mystics. The material here is so abundant as to forbid the presentation of the views of individual theologians in detail. It must be arranged under a few specific heads:

1. *The Nature of Inspiration.*

a. Authorship.

The theologians of this school taught that God is the only real author of Scripture. As Quenstedt († 1688) says: "God alone, if we wish to speak accurately, should be called the author of sacred Scripture." Of the persons of the Trinity, it is the Holy Ghost to whom inspiration pertains as part of his especial economic functions. He, however, did not write immediately, but made use of the sacred penmen. He therefore is the primary Author, they the secondary authors.[1]

The relation of inspired men to the inspiring Spirit was conceived as purely passive. From the latter only proceeded the impulse to write, and in the process of writing itself, men could rank only as 'the pens or the amanuenses of the Holy Ghost.'[2]

Thus Gerhard (†1637) says: "The efficient, principal cause of sacred Scripture is God; the instrumental causes were holy men. They wrote not as men, but as men of God; i. e., servants of God and special organs of the Holy Ghost."[3]

Again: "One may rightly call the apostles and prophets amanuenses of God, hands of Christ, and notaries or secretaries of the Holy Ghost, since they spoke or wrote nothing according to their own human will. All therefore was suggested and inspired within them."[4]

Quite in the same strain, Quenstedt labors to define the nature of the state of passivity in which the sacred writers fulfilled their functions, and says that they wrote nothing 'out of their own understanding, but all things under the direction of the Holy Ghost.'

The Lutheran divines conceived it as quite natural that in considering the origin of any particular book of Scripture, the sec-

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[1] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 279.
[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III : 61.
[3] Gerhard, *Loci.* I, c. 12, § 12.
[4] *Explic. über Loc.* I, c. 2, § 18.

ondary author should be wholly overlooked, and attention exclusively directed to the primary Author, the divine Originator.

b. Act of Inspiration.

According to the same theologians, the act of inspiration by the Holy Ghost included three things: the impulse to write [i. e., the mere mechanical operation of writing, for as Hollaz († 1713) says: "The words were inspired within the prophets, not to be understood, but to be written"], the suggestion of the matter, and that of the words.

Thus Baier (†1695) defines inspiration as "an act of that kind by which God supernaturally communicated to the intellect of the writers, not only the ideas of all things which were to be recorded, but also of the words themselves, and of all things by which they should be expressed; and then roused the will to the act of writing."[1]

Quenstedt says again: "All and everything which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, whether in the natural way wholly unknown, or naturally, indeed, capable of being known, but actually unknown; or yet again, not only naturally apprehensible, but also actually known, either from personal experience or from some other source—all this was not merely written by means of infallible divine assistance and direction, but flowed from the special suggestion, inspiration and dictation of the Spirit. For all which was to be written, was suggested by the Holy Ghost to the sacred writers in the act of writing, and was dictated to their understanding as to a pe , so that it must be set down in writing with these and no other conditions, in this and no other way."

It is easily seen that this method of conceiving inspiration established a real Docetism, through the sole activity of the divine Spirit, and the annihilation of all human spontaneity.

c. Revelation and Inspiration.

A distinction was made between *revelation* and *inspiration*, though it was not always kept clear and exact. It was taught that the former relates properly to the communication of truth before unknown, and may be made in various ways and for various purposes. The latter relates by right only to the act of writing,

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[1] *Compendium*, p. 65.

concerns either that which was previously hidden or already disclosed, and is effected only through the Holy Ghost.[1]

Another distinction made by theologians of more liberal views will be noticed below.

2. *The Extent of Inspiration.* (*Verbal Inspiration.*)

a. Citations already made show clearly the views of the High Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century in the matter. Everything pertaining to Scripture, whether substance or form, was alike the direct work of the Holy Ghost. Prophecy, dogma, poetry, history,—all, without exception, were included.

Thus Quenstedt: "The original Scripture is of infallible truth, and free from every error; or what is the same thing, in canonical Scripture there is no falsehood, no untruth, not even the least error either in facts or in words; but all things and everything which is related there, is most true, whether those things are doctrinal, moral, historical, chronological or topographical, and no ignorance, thoughtlessness or forgetfulness, no error of memory can be, or ought to be, imputed to the amanuenses of the Holy Ghost in their records."

Words as well as things were included. Calovius (†1686) declared that, 'God inspired those things which apostles and prophets wrote, and not only as to the sense and meaning, but as to the words which were suggested and dictated to them, just as they are contained in Scripture.'

Hollaz: "All words and every word which is contained in the sacred text was inspired by the Holy Spirit in prophets and apostles, and was dictated to a pen."

Quenstedt: "The words themselves, and all and every expression has the Holy Ghost individually suggested, inspired, and dictated to the sacred writers."

b. The Lutheran theologians maintained that the Hebrew vowel points were original, rather than the work of the later Massoretes, and thus partook of the inspiration of the text.

Gerhard said that to deny that the vowels and points of the Old Testament proceeded from inspiration would compel one to deny the doctrine of verbal inspiration wholly.

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[1] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, I:279. Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III:60.

Calovius supported the same theory by the declaration that 'not one jot or tittle should in any wise pass from the Law.'

Similarly speak Quenstedt and Hollaz.

It thus appears, to speak briefly, that the Lutheran divines of this period regarded every *word* and every *letter* of the Scriptures as the *direct utterance and work of the Holy Ghost.*

3. *Objections Answered.*

It could hardly escape the notice of these Protestant scholastics that the views propounded and defended by them encountered many difficulties, and were liable to serious objections; but theological ingenuity and acuteness were then, as always, ready with a plausible answer.

a. When it was asked how on this basis the evident differences of style among the sacred writers were to be accounted for, Calovius said plainly: "The cause of different methods of expression is that the Holy Spirit makes each one to speak just as he wishes.[1]

Quenstedt and Hollaz point to the manifoldness of the contents of the Scripture which, they say, demands a corresponding variety of style. They also assume an accommodation on the part of the Holy Ghost to the individual peculiarities of the sacred writers,[2] making him thereby the cleverest of imitators.

A somewhat fuller form of reply to this objection was that the Holy Ghost, as the Lord of all gifts of utterance, could speak as he would, and vary his style according to his pleasure. In dictating to each sacred writer, he chose just such methods of expression as that person would have chosen had he been writing under a voluntary impulse. So carefully did the divine author adapt himself to the individuality and the grade of culture of each one.

b. To the charge of barbarisms or solecisms in style, a flat denial was returned.

Hollaz declares: "The style of the sacred Scriptures is dignified, worthy of the divine Majesty, and is disfigured by no grammatical fault, by no barbarism or solecism. To maintain the contrary is blasphemy."

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[1] *Syst.* I., p. 574.

[2] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 281.

4. *More Liberal Views.*

A few Lutheran theologians had the courage to array themselves against the doctrinal exaggerations of their contemporaries, though the result was to draw upon themselves the charge of unsoundness in the faith, and even the accusation of positive heresy. Chief among them were Musaeus and Calixtus.

a. Musaeus († 1681) ventured to express doubts whether inspiration extended to the words as well as to the matter of the Scriptures. He even designated verbal inspiration as an undecided and improbable opinion. But for this hardihood he was violently opposed by the zealous orthodox divines, especially by Calovius, and was compelled to retract his utterances.

b. Calixtus († 1656) wished to distinguish between *revelation* or *inspiration in the strict sense*, and mere *divine assistance.* To the former he would ascribe only the chief doctrines of the Scriptures, viz., those relating to human redemption and final salvation. For other things which might be learned from the light of nature or through experience, he claimed only that divine assistance which guarded the sacred writers from error, and enabled them to record that which was 'consonant with fact, true, worthy and suitable.' For these too free views Calixtus found himself charged with heresy.[1]

5. *The Lutheran Symbols.*

The silence of the Lutheran symbolic books respecting inspiration has often been remarked. The explanation seems to be that the *fact* is presupposed, while, for various reasons, implied in what has been said above, no specific *theory* is proposed. Incidental expressions are found in the Apology, in the Smalcald Articles, and in the Formula of Concord, which confirm this view.

II. Reformed.

The Reformed churches of the continent were generally in harmony with the Lutheran in their doctrine of sacred Scripture. Within the former a somewhat animated controversy was carried on respecting the inspiration of the vowel-points of the Hebrew text. The principal disputants were the two Buxtorffs, father

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[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 63.

(† 1639) and son († 1664), professors at Basle, on the one side, and Leo Capellus on the other. The former asserted both the antiquity and divine origin of the vowel-points, as essential to any true doctrine of inspiration. The latter claimed them as a later growth upon the text, and appealed, in confirmation of his view, to both Jewish and Christian testimonies. The orthodox opinion was finally confirmed and formulated in the *Formula Consensus Helvetici* (1675), which declares that 'not only the consonants, but also the vowels—either the points themselves, or at least the meaning of the points—were inspired by God.'

It is undeniable, however, that some divines in the Reformed churches entertained less rigid views. This was particularly true of the French theologians of the school of Saumur, who could admit, e. g., without scruple, that the New Testament writers had misapprehended the meaning of those of the Old, or had fallen into errors of memory.

German Reformed theologians also, like Junius Piscator and others, were in like manner inclined to liberal views. In both the French and Swiss Reformed churches the radical and rationalistic views of Le Clerc generally found wide and welcome reception. Pictet, e. g., professor at Geneva in 1702, taught that inspiration in Scripture was limited to those truths which men can attain only by the aid of revelation proper. The revelation, of course, never extended to matter knowable by means of the natural faculties. For these, divine guidance in preventing errors was amply sufficient.

III. Roman Catholic.

A reaction against the exaggerated orthodoxy and extreme literalism of the Protestant theologians was inevitable, and actually appeared in various quarters. We notice first the Roman Catholics.

1. The Canons of Trent incidentally refer to the Scriptures as a 'dictation of the Holy Ghost,' but determine nothing otherwise concerning the theory of inspiration. Ecclesiastical opinion, however, practically declared that the Scriptures and their authority were dependent upon and subordinate to the authority of the church.

2. Bellarmine († 1620) contended that the original commission

of the apostles concerned preaching and not writing; that their epistles were merely occasional letters, and did not fundamentally affect doctrine.[1] He maintained that the sacred penmen formed the determination to write from existing circumstances, and attributed to God such a direction or assistance only as allowed the preservation of their spontaneity. He made a broad distinction between the prophetic and historical writers, holding that the kind of aid rendered to each was different, and adapted to their needs. He says: "God aided the prophets in one way, and the historical writers in another. To the former he revealed the future, and assisted them so that nothing false should mingle with what they wrote. To the latter he did not always reveal what they should write, but only stirred them up to write what they had seen and heard and remembered. At the same time he helped them not to write anything false; but this assistance did not exclude labor on their part."[2]

All this indicates a disposition to limit the province of immediate inspiration as much as possible.

3. Several of the most learned papal doctors were inclined to limit strict inspiration to the essential articles of faith,[3] and to maintain that in other matters, e. g., historical narratives, the sacred writers were left to themselves, and might sometimes err. Pighius says boldly: "Matthew and John were able to err in memory, and to falsify." The Jesuits were especially loose in their views, and were ready to concede the fallibility of prophets and apostles. For this, however, they were condemned in 1586 by the faculties of Louvain and Douai.

Critical investigations upon the canon and the doctrine of inspiration were actually instituted during this period, and were perhaps mainly possible in the Catholic church. Those of Richard Simon were especially famous, and did much to impair belief in the divinity and canonical authority of the books of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament.[4] His opinions were certainly inconsistent with the acceptance of the theory of verbal and literal inspiration. He taught that inspiration should be viewed as

[1] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, I: 277.

[2] *De Verb. Div.*, I: 18.

[3] Haag, *Hist. des Dogm.*, I: 11.

[4] Id. ib.

an act of divine Providence, by which the sacred writers were in general directed, and were preserved from dangerous errors. This and nothing more. The learned Oratorian remarked that 'it was for Protestants only to fear and take offense at the results of criticism. Catholics could have no such scruples, because their faith did not depend merely on the sacred text.'[1]

IV. Arminian.

The Arminians shared the Catholic breadth and looseness of view respecting our doctrine, though from another point of view, in the interest of reason rather than of the church. The *tendency* was to limit the field of inspiration still further, though in their doctrinal system and public writings they did not oppose the current ecclesiastical doctrine. Looseness of view among the Arminians was greatly promoted by intercourse and connection with the Socinians.

1. Limborch († 1712) expressed himself concerning the question only with the greatest caution, saying that 'as the apostles, under the impulse of the Holy Ghost, set about their task, so also in writing they were so far directed that they could commit no error either in expressing the sense itself, or in recording the words which expressed the divine sense.'[2]

Other theologians showed themselves less timid.

2. Grotius († 1645) would concede inspiration, in the proper sense of the term, to the prophetic writings alone, but wholly denied it in the case of the historical books, refusing to put them in the same category, on the ground that historical narrative needed no inspiration. His exact words are these: "Not all books which are in the Hebrew canon were dictated by the Holy Spirit. I do not deny that they were written with pious intent, but there was no need that histories should be dictated by the Holy Ghost. It was enough that the writer had a clear recollection of the things seen."[3]

He specifies the writings of Luke as an example: "If Luke recorded only what the Holy Ghost dictated to him, why did he

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[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 65.

[2] *Theol. Christ.*, *Lib.* I, cap. IV.

[3] *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiast.*

make appeal to his investigations?"[1] Grotius conceded the canonicity of Luke's writings, but only on the ground that in the opinion of the primitive church they 'are true, pious, and treat of important subjects.'[2]

3. Episcopius († 1643) goes still further, and says that the sacred writers might readily err, since in historical and related kinds of composition, for which the unaided human faculties were sufficient, they were left wholly to themselves. To the objection that on this basis they might err even in essential things, he replies that God did not entrust matters of great moment to human weakness, but reserved them to his own guidance and control.[3]

He argues also against the strict view of inspiration, that many books of Scripture either contain nothing which others had not given in greater detail, or at least are not especially edifying. Mention is also made of the fact that the so-called canonical writings were not collected in obedience to express divine command.[4]

4. Le Clerc († 1737), one of the most learned theologians of his age, held that genuine divine revelation renders inspiration needless. The prophecies themselves were communicated by revelation to the prophets, who carefully remembered them, but recorded them, each in his own style, so that it could not be said that they repeated the very words which they had heard.[5]

The historical books require no inspiration, and prove their actual want of the same by internal contradictions.[6] Equally unnecessary is the supposition of inspiration in the case of the doctrinal books of the Old Testament; and as for the New Testament, the '*assistance*' of the Holy Ghost was amply sufficient for all purposes.

Christ had promised that the 'Spirit of the Father' should speak through the disciples (Matt. 10:20), but this he interpreted to refer to the spirit of holiness and steadfastness with which they would endure persecutions, and defend their doctrine.

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[1] *Votum pro Pace Ecclesiast.*

[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III, 65.

[3] *Institutiones*, IV:1, 4.

[4] Id. IV:1, 4. Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, I:278.

[5] *Sentiments de Quelques Theol. de Hollande, &c.* Haag, *Hist. des Dogm.*, I:12.

[6] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 279. Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III:4, 21.

The promise that the Spirit should 'guide the disciples into all truth, &c.,' (John 16:13,) was explained as teaching that divine aid would be given to strengthen the memory, and make needed explanations of truth. The apostles did not claim inspiration or deem it necessary to the validity of the doctrinal contents of their writings.

The views of Le Clerc here had much in common with those of Spinoza.

It thus appears that the Arminian view of inspiration implied a great relaxation of the strictness of the general Protestant church doctrine; among other things, greatly widening the field of spontaneity and conscious personal activity on the part of the sacred writers.

V. Socinian.

The Socinians did not by any means deny the *fact* of inspiration, but were otherwise grossly inconsistent in their views. The Racovian Catechism (preface) teaches that 'the Holy Ghost dictated the matter of Scripture to the apostles, and sometimes the very words, so that they were his mere instruments.' Inspiration is conceived as the immediate and coërcive operation of an outside Power upon the sacred writers, rather than the inter-penetration of their personality by a higher Influence, and thus the self-conscious elevation of their human faculties to apprehend the divine truth and will. Socinianism here occupies common ground with High Lutheran and Reformed orthodoxy.

1. Faustus Socinus himself confesses that the authors of Scripture wrote 'under the impulse of the divine Spirit and at his dictation,'[1] yet he elsewhere says that the 'natural abilities of the New Testament writers were abundantly sufficient for the communication of doctrine,' under which he would include only the most weighty practical truths.[2] He limits inspiration to essential things, and admits without scruple slight errors of memory, which do not in any way affect the truth of the sacred narrative. Socinus has no hesitation in exalting the New Testament above the Old, and in declaring that 'the reading of the latter, while useful, is by no means necessary.'

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[1] *Lectiones Sacrae,* p. 287.

[2] *De Auc. S. Script.*, c. 4. Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 65.

To the Socinians the *inspiration* of the Bible was a question quite subordinate in importance to that of its human and historic *credibility*, and the divinity of written words was of far less moment than that of the general Christian faith and order. They came to feel less and less concern about difficulties and apparent discrepancies in Scripture, and were inclined to cut and clip it according to their own subjective ideas of reason and common sense. The ever growing looseness of view among these sectaries was coincident with, and based upon the ever increasing breadth of province and number of functions assigned to reason in its relation to Revelation.

VI. Mystic.

The mystics of the seventeenth century, as those of the Reformation era and other periods, tended to exalt unduly the teaching of the illuminating Spirit, and to disparage the value of the written Word. The Scriptures were treated very generally as a merely subordinate revelation, and sometimes as a detriment to that inward revelation which alone is true and immediate. Thus—

1. Christian Hoburg said: "Scripture is an old, cold and dead thing, which makes men mere Pharisees."

2. Arndt: "Christ is the living book in whom we read, and from whom we should learn."

3. Weigel: "Scripture, as such, is a dead letter, and an empty word which sounds through the air."

4. *Fox.*

George Fox († 1691), founder of the sect of Quakers, declared: "It is not the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit by which opinions and religions are to be tried."

5. *Barclay.*

Robert Barclay († 1690), the principal theologian of the same denomination, taught that 'Holy Writ is not the original source of knowing the truth; it is no adequate rule for doctrines and morals. * * * It is subordinate to the Holy Spirit, from whom it derives its excellence.'

Even when the Bible was nominally received and confessed as

authoritative, ideas were often ascribed to its divine Author, the Holy Ghost, which in reality were only the products of a morbid and enthusiastic fancy.

6. Spener († 1705), observing the reaction setting in among the orthodox divines in favor of exaggerated notions of literal inspiration, endeavored to mediate between the two parties, and on the true Protestant principle, reconcile the teaching of the inward Spirit with the authority of the written Word. His effort was to enhance the value placed upon the Bible both by the people and the theologians.[1]

In his personal views he confesses, with the mystics, that the mere letter of Scripture is powerless and dead; but against them he declares that, 'our feelings are not the norm of truth, but divine truth is the norm of our feelings. The rule of truth exists in the divine word, apart from ourselves.'[2]

With equal earnestness did he oppose the dead mechanism of church orthodoxy, and maintain the independence of the Scripture writers. He says: "Assuredly the things the apostles wrote, they understood; and did not produce sounds like parrots. But the understanding demands its own images or ideas which it forms, drawing them either from within or from some other source."[3]

VII. Opinion in England.

Public opinion was not so generally or profoundly stirred upon the question of inspiration either among the churchmen or dissenters of England, as among the Lutheran and Reformed churches of the Continent. Still the subject was not without interest, and some opinions were expressed which are worthy of record.

1. *Archbishop Tillotson.*

This prelate († 1694) hesitated to declare himself frankly respecting the *extent* of inspiration. He is not sure whether the divine superintendence merely secured the Scripture writers

[1] Hagenbach, *Hist. Doct.*, II : 246.

[2] Beck, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 120.

[3] *Consil. Theol.*, I: 45.

against error in the delivery of doctrine and narration of fact, while each was left to his own style and manner of expression; or, whether everything written was immediately dictated, words and phrases as well as sense, so that human authors were merely the penmen or instruments of the Spirit. He is only clear that the measure of inspiration was in every case sufficient to secure the end of Scripture, viz., to inform the world of the mind and will of God.[1]

He is *inclined* to think that Moses wrote the account of that in which he was personally concerned without immediate revelation; that Solomon, by natural and acquired wisdom, might utter his sententious Proverbs; that the evangelists might record what they saw and heard, or learned from others; that Paul might make certain local allusions contained in his epistles without immediate dictation. He finds *probable* argument for this view, e. g., in the verbal disagreements combined with the substantial harmony of the Evangelists, in the various readings of the Old and New Testaments, &c.[2] He finally, though with apparent hesitation, concludes that the Spirit of God did reveal to the penmen of the Scriptures what was necessary to be revealed; and as to all other things, that he did secure them from any material error or mistake in what they have delivered.

Not very profound or venturesome utterances for the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.

2. *Burnet.*

Burnet, bishop of Salisbury († 1715), argues that inspiration left the sacred writers to the use of their own faculties, and to their previous customs and habits. The object of God was to give such representations of matters of fact as might work upon and affect belief. The order of time and strict words, not affecting this end, might vary according to occasion.

As to the doctrinal part, i. e., the rules of life given, or the propositions laid down, all must acquiesce in them as the voice of God. The explanations or arguments supporting these may be of various value, and are to be estimated according to their intrinsic

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[1] Works, vol. IX: 233.

[2] Id., 234.

character. Burnet says, expressly: "When the divine writers argue upon any point, we are always bound to believe the conclusions that their reasonings end in, as parts of divine revelation; but we are not bound to be able to make out, or even to assent to all the premises made use of by them in their whole extent; unless it appears plainly that they affirm the premises as expressly as they do the conclusions proved by them."[1]

3. *Baxter.*

Richard Baxter († 1691), among the dissenting divines of England in the seventeenth century, is noteworthy for his somewhat latitudinarian position on the question before us. He would limit inspiration to the subject-matter of Scripture. He says: "The Scripture is like a man's body, where some parts are but for the preservation of the rest, and may be maimed without death. The sense is the soul of Scripture, and the letters but the body or vehicle. The doctrine of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Decalogue is the vital part, and Christianity itself. The Old Testament letter (written as we have it about Ezra's time) is that vehicle, which is as imperfect as the Revelation of these times was. But as after Christ's incarnation and ascension, the Spirit was more abundantly given, and the Revelation more perfect and sealed, so the doctrine is more full, and the vehicle or body, that is, are less imperfect and more sure to us; so that he that doubteth of the truth of some words in the Old Testament, or of some circumstances in the New, hath no reason to doubt therefore of the Christian religion, of which these doctrines are but the vehicle or body, sufficient to ascertain of the truth of the History and Doctrine."[2]

4. *John Owen.*

Very different from the attitude of Baxter was that occupied by the Puritan divine, John Owen († 1683), who was quite in accord upon this subject with the Lutheran and Reformed scholastics of the Continent, and may be taken as an example of the extremely rigid views prevalent among most of the contemporary

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[1] Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, 112.

[2] *The Catechizing of Families*, 1683, p. 36.

Puritans in England. He treats inspiration from the standpoint of prophecy, and makes it, on the divine side, to be 'an act of the Holy Ghost in communicating his mind to the prophets.'[1] From this point of view three things enter into it:

a. The inspiration of the minds of holy men with the knowledge and apprehension of the things communicated to them.

b. The suggestion of words to express what their minds conceived.

c. The guidance of their hands in setting down the words suggested.

If either of these requisites were wanting, the Scriptures could not be absolutely and every way divine and infallible.[2]

As to the *extent* of inspiration, he observes: "It is not enough to satisfy us that the doctrines mentioned are preserved entire: every tittle and iota of the word of God must come under our consideration as being as such from God."

Again: "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were immediately and entirely given out by God himself, his mind being in them represented to us without the least interveniency of such mediums and ways as were capable of giving change or alteration of the least letter or syllable."

Careful study shows that he intended to reject, and perhaps with equal emphasis, two opposite errors: one, that the matter only of the Holy Scripture was divinely communicated, while the verbal expression was left to the natural faculties; and the other, that the minds of the sacred penmen were under such coërcive influence from above that they became mere machines. All used their own intellects and powers, and the Holy Spirit suggested such words as were familiar to each, but yet in such way that the words fixed upon were from him as directly and certainly as if they had been spoken to them by an audible voice."[3]

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[1] Works, Carter's edition, III:131.

[2] Id., 144.

[3] Id., 145.

H. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The ultra-orthodox doctrine of inspiration affirmed by the Lutheran and Reformed scholastics of the seventeenth century was during the succeeding one greatly modified and limited,—in many quarters, wholly abrogated. Some powerful specific agencies were at work to produce these radical changes. Among them may be mentioned on the one side, the influence of Spinoza and his philosophic system, as well as that of English Deism; on the other, the rise of Pietism. Each contributed in its own way and measure. But more than this: the old theories seemed to come in conflict with almost every aspect of the progressive thought of the eighteenth century, and were outlawed by reason of the difficulties and contradictions in which they involved their advocates, as well as by the positive advance in criticism, exegesis and philosophy. The real attack on the strict Lutheran doctrine began about the end of the seventeenth century, and took two main directions, a historic and a philosophic. The former concerned the doctrine of inspiration in general, and its practical application to specific books and passages; the latter extended to revelation as well as inspiration, and partook rather of a philosophic and dogmatic character.[1] The one kind was determined, as just indicated, by the progress both of criticism and interpretation, as well as by that of historical theology in general. Most important here was Semler, who really inaugurated the revolutionary epoch in German theology.[2]

Attacks of the second sort were probably at least an indirect result of the influence of the writings of Spinoza, while they were greatly furthered by the aid of the Kantian philosophy and its application to theology.[3] Each in its way contributed powerfully not only to the overthrow of old ideas, but to the development of a freer philosophical interpretation of the idea and theory of inspiration.

As the result of the coworking of all influences there followed a notable reconstruction of the doctrine. Henceforward inspira-

[1] Münscher, *Dogm.-gesch.* (Neudecker), II: 2, 239.

[2] Rudelbach, *Zeitsch. für die Gesammt. Luther. Theol.*, 1840, *Zweit. Quart.*, 58.

[3] Münscher, *ut sup.*

tion, even among divines of reputed orthodoxy, was conceived not in an isolated way, but as standing in organic union with the collective mental and spiritual life of the sacred writers. It was referred chiefly to the kernel of saving truth, and to other contents of Scripture only according to the measure of their connection with this.[1] Distinctions of degree in inspiration were also conceded, German theologians in general no longer maintaining the universal and absolute infallibility of all details of the sacred records.

Accurate grouping of the various views that now demand our notice is by no means an easy task. We may, however, begin with—

I. The Rationalistic.

1. *Pfaff.*

Pfaff († 1760) was among the earliest Lutheran theologians who, in his treatment of the doctrine, betrayed a clear tendency to a radical departure from rigid and traditional views. He distinguished different degrees in inspiration.

a. *Immediate revelation*, made to the apostles and other writers of the New Testament concerning matters either wholly or in part unknown before.

b. *Immediate direction*, in the setting forth of parts which were known to them before, as also in the development of doctrine.

c. *Divine permission* in presenting those things which required neither 'revelation' nor 'immediate guidance.'

This last and lowest degree was consistent with purely human ideas.

2. *Töllner.*

Töllner published in 1772 a treatise entitled 'Die göttliche Eingebung der heiligen Schrift,' which constitutes one of the most important works for the history of inspiration during this period. He sought to show that the doctrine in question is not so vital to Christianity as commonly supposed. Revealed religion does not stand or fall with the divine inspiration of a book, and

[1] Lechler, *Dogm.-gesch.*

excessive regard for the mere letter of Scripture must involve one in continual doubt and perplexity, through the progress of criticism and general science.[1] Having proved, as he thinks, by historic evidence that the freer view of inspiration has been the controlling one in every age, Töllner proceeds to the execution of his main purpose, adopting therfor and making rigorous use of the analytic method. The chief peculiarities of his view may be thus briefly summed up:

a. There are five degrees of inspiration, and the differentiating element in each is the measure of the supernatural divine coöperation. These degrees he analyses and distinguishes with philosophical precision, though without attempting to decide what special degree is found in a given passage of Scripture.

b. The divine authority of the Bible is ensured even without inspiration.

c. Inspiration is a 'mere synergism,' or an assistance of the Holy Spirit, through which the sacred writers were preserved from error, and were enabled to compose their writings in a manner consonant with the end in view.

d. A broad distinction is to be made between the Scriptures and the word of God.

It need scarcely be said that the general results of Töllner's investigatio s in this department were wholly favorable to *negative* criticism.

3. *Semler.*

Semler († 1791), founder of the School of so-called 'historical biblical criticism,' took for his point of departure, *morality*, or *general utility* as constituting the essential character of the *divine*, since it facilitates spiritual goodness in mankind.[2] Moral improvement, therefore, is the essence of all religion. The Spirit of Christ is nothing else than the living apprehension and exhibition of moral truth in the fulness of its divine extent,[3] and inspiration is a spiritual-divine power of truth, or of the ever

[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III : 423.

[2] Rudelbach, *Zeitsch. &c.*, 1840, *Zweit. Quart.*, 57.

[3] *Von Frier Untersuchung des Canon*, I: 39.

forth-going word of God, which he, as it were, himself speaks within a man, and * * * in such a manner that he becomes sure that it is the instruction of God."[1]

As matter of fact, Semler reduced inspiration from a human-subjective point of view to a mere devout frame of mind, and the 'testimonium Spiritus Sancti' to the advantage to be derived from the Scriptures for moral improvement and edification.

His practical application of these theories to the sacred canon and to theology in general needs no exposition here.

4. *Michaelis.*

Michaelis († 1791) wholly denied the orthodox interpretation of the 'testimonium Spiritus Sancti' and the 'fides divina' in connection with the doctrine of inspiration, conceding only that a 'good sound human understanding would find in the Scriptures themselves the proof of their divinity.' He frankly confessed in his 'Dogmatik' that, 'firmly as he was convinced of the truth of revelation, he had never in his life experienced the witness of the Holy Ghost, nor had he found in the entire Bible one word concerning it.'

5. *Griesbach.*

Griesbach († 1812) distinguished mediate natural inspiration, general religious enthusiasm, and providential guidance. The 'witness of the Spirit' in reference to the Scriptures was of less importance in his eyes than their usefulness for the moral improvement of man; '*authority*' gave place to *adaptedness to the end proposed.*[2] Some idea of his doctrinal attitude may be gained from the following passage: "The impartation of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost qualified the disciples for the apostolic calling, and therefore for the composition of the writings necessarily connected with it. For extraordinary occasions there was bestowed a new, wonderful enduement of the Holy Spirit, but in addition, the natural mental activities of the sacred writers were preserved by Providence from *serious* error. How far the individual constituent parts of the sacred Scriptures have arisen from the one and the other source, cannot be distinguished, and

[1] Id., 46.

[2] Beck, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 121.

is not distinguished by the apostles themselves. Therefore the biblical idea of inspiration is the theocratic 'in-spiriting' of the *men*, not of the *writings*, for they were not 'in-spirited' to write.

6. *Henke.*

Henke († 1809) gave full and free expression to the rationalistic view, when he said that the sacred writers were moved to literary composition, and actually entered upon the work, from the desire of being serviceable to others, and from the opportunity thus presented; that they made choice of material according to the peculiar necessities of time and place, drew the facts themselves from the abundant resources of their own knowledge, the arrangement and embellishment of the same from their individual natural endowments, and the words from the habit and manner of speaking customary to each one.[1]

Every element which enters into the composition of the Scriptures is here referred to merely natural motives and causes.[2]

7. *Herder.*

Herder († 1803) is most conveniently and correctly mentioned here, both as a rationalist (though not of the school of Semler), and as a forerunner of Schleiermacher.

He sought to do away with what he viewed as the old materialistic idea of an inspired writing. As humanity, in the genuine sense, was to him the highest thing, so, said he, in order to humanize the Bible, which is the most human of all books, it must be read in a thoroughly human way. Inspiration, according to the orthodox interpretation, he characterizes as *nonsense*. A low habit of thinking in the dark ages liked to conceive of one who was moved by the divine Spirit, as an organ pipe through which the wind blows, — an empty machine from which all thoughts of its own are far removed. Cabbalistic ideas first gave birth to the conception of a sacred writing as a connected whole. These ideas were then propagated by the Alexandrian philosophy, and entered into Christianity. In the conflict with heretics, an appeal was made to an *in-spired Word*, and with the increase of ignorance, the lordship of *in-spiration* was founded, upon which finally Scholasticism set it seal. The word of God is nothing

[1] *Lineam., Instit. Fidis Christ.*, p. 39.

[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 427.

else than light—insight; among the Hebrews spirit and word were one. The Spirit which Christ promised to his followers was only his doctrine, his memory, his illuminated likeness.[1]

II. More Evangelical.

1. *Stapfer.*

This divine, theological professor at Berne († 1775) says: "We must distinguish between those parts of the sacred Scriptures which were written by the *immediate inspiration* of the Holy Ghost, and those which have been consigned to writing by his *direction* only. To the former class belong the peculiar discoveries of revelation respecting the way of salvation, predictions, etc. To the latter class belong truths already known from natural religion."

He adds, however: "Nor was any error permitted to creep in with regard even to the minutest fact or circumstance. All alike comes to us through inspiration, and is of equal precision, whether it be by revelation, observation, or reasoning; if we follow the latter, there can be no error in our conclusions, except by not properly applying the laws of interpretation."

III. Swedenborg.

Swedenborg's († 1772) doctrine of inspiration is unique and obscure. An adequate conception of it is to be gained only from the study of his writings, or at least from a detailed exposition of his views by one of his initiated disciples. The reader is referred, among other sources of information, to an article by Rev. Chauncey Giles, in the *North American Review*, October, 1878, pp. 314–319. Some of the following statements are taken from that paper.

With Swedenborg, the Scriptures and the word of God are identical, and are divine truth itself. "If the Word were not true," he says, "we could know nothing of God, of heaven or of hell, of life after death, and still less of the Lord." He held that man has no innate knowledge, but must *learn* everything he knows in every sphere. Revelation, therefore, is absolutely indispensable to teach him of beings and worlds that may exist beyond the realm of the senses.

[1] *Vom Geist des Christ., Werke zur Theol.*, XII: 235–6. Baur, III: 441.

It is to be noted that Swedenborg applies the term 'word of God,' not to our canonical books, but to another Scripture antedating and superior to ours. He calls it the 'Scripture of angels.' He advances also to another identification. As the Scripture is the 'word of God,' so the 'word of God' is the Lord himself. As God descended in order to become veritable man in the Son, so also does the Word—the divine proceeding from the Lord—that is, the Lord himself, descend through three stages to man. These stages are the celestial, the spiritual, and the natural.

In regard to those of the commonly received Scriptures which he admitted as canonical, he seems to have taught *degrees* of inspiration, for he distinguished the immediate utterances of God himself from those made by angels in his behalf. "The books spoken by the Lord, by the mouths of the prophets, were the five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, First and Second Samuel, First and Second Kings, the Psalms, and all the Prophets from Isaiah to Malachi, the four Gospels and the Revelation." "The other books of the so-called canon are good and useful, and possess about the same kind and amount of inspiration generally accorded to the whole Bible, but they do not contain a connected spiritual meaning, and they are not therefore the word of the Lord, and they do not claim to be."[1]

All the sacred books alike stand in imperative need of a new revelation—that of Swedenborg—to render them intelligible.

Inspiration itself is the divine choice and use of natural forms for the expression of spiritual and eternal truth. Under the supernatural influence, speech and record alike become the faithful reflection of the Higher and Supreme Will.

With reference to the *extent* of inspiration, Swedenborg would seem to have accepted the verbal theory. At all events, he held single words of Scripture to be of so great importance as to fear, from the loss of the smallest of them, great peril to the whole connection of a passage. He appeals to the counting of the letters by the Massoretes as an arrangement of divine Providence for the preservation of the Scriptures from injury.[2]

The same verbal theory is suggested by his view that absolutely everything in Scripture is significant. Even the numbers and

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[1] *N. A. Review, October*, 1878, 316.

[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 442.

the proper names have a spiritual meaning. Oftentimes the Scripture authors understood their own utterances only in their natural import, but this is of no importance. "The essential thing is that every word spoken should be the natural exponent of a divine truth, and that the Lord always provided for. There is not a word in the wildest vision of the prophets, in the driest genealogy, in the most natural precept, which does not embody a divine truth."[1]

IV. Opinion in England.

The indirect effect of Spinoza's thought, and the more direct influence of English divines above referred to, were seen in the loose ideas concerning inspiration prevalent both among churchmen and dissenters of England during the last century. The tendency was now, as it had been to some extent before, to limit the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit upon the sacred writers to the religious element of the communications, and exclude it from all extraneous to that province. Among the opinions which diverged more or less from the standards of strict orthodoxy were those of—

1. *Whitby.*

The views of Whitby († 1726) upon inspiration may be arranged under two heads:

a. Nature.

As to its nature, it consists in such an impression by the Holy Ghost on the brain of a Scripture writer as to impart a clear idea of that which he wishes to communicate. Certainty is always given that the message is from God.[2]

b. Extent.

Two kinds or degrees of inspiration are distinguished:

That of *suggestion*, involving the communication of truth before unknown. This was exemplified primarily in the case of the prophets, though the apostles also, especially John, in writing the Apocalypse, gave evidence of the working of the same power.

That of *direction*. This implied such a divine superintendence

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[1] *N. A. Review, October,* 1878, p. 318.

[2] *Preface to Comm. on N. T. Dissert. on Divine Authority of Scripture.*

as secured the sacred writers against all error, but presupposed that the general substance of the message was previously known by natural means — reason or education, or antecedent revelation.

Whitby would nowhere admit slips of memory on the part of the apostles, nor would he concede that they determined practical questions on grounds of human expediency, apart from the direction of the Holy Spirit.

He contended for such a kind and degree of inspiration as secured perfect certainty as to the truth written, but not for the theory of verbal, mechanical dictation.

2. *Samuel Clarke.*

Dr. Clarke († 1729) insisted upon a careful observance of the distinction between prophetic writings on the one hand, and historical and moral compositions on the other. He says that 'in the prophetic books, where the subject-matter was entirely new to the prophet himself, and very often perhaps not understood by him, it is very plain that inspiration means that the whole was dictated to the inspired writers, either in a vision, or by an angel, or otherwise, according as it pleased God to reveal himself at divers times and in diverse manners. But in the historical and moral books of Scripture, wherein the writers had themselves perfect knowledge of the facts recorded and of the doctrine taught, it was abundantly sufficient that they had such assistance of the Holy Spirit guiding them into *all* truth, as enabled them to express their own thoughts in their own words, with an effectual security that they should not err in the manner of delivering the doctrine which they were commanded to teach.[1]

3. *Calamy.*

Ed. Calamy († 1732) held that the divine assistance given to the sacred writers extended both to the formation of their conceptions and the framing of their writings; and that the assistance was of such sort as to prevent the insertion of anything false, or the omission of any necessary truth. The Spirit immediately suggested and dictated such things as were matters of pure revelation, and illuminated their minds in the several doctrinal and practical truths they delivered in writing.

[1] Works, vol. II: 86.

The Holy Ghost used the sacred penmen as reasonable creatures, and made use of their judgments, memories and affections, but they acted under his guidance in the whole of their work.

Natural difference of style and language, the Spirit did not obliterate but permitted in the writings drawn up under his conduct, save in some places where he thought fit to interfere in some particular strains of majesty and authority.

Inspiration did not imply immediate revelation. One is properly said to be inspired, if under such conduct of the divine Spirit as secures him from mistake and error.[1]

4. *Doddridge.*

Doddridge (†1751) distinguished different kinds or degrees of inspiration, after the manner of Whitby.

a. Inspiration of Superintendence.

This implies such a direction of the mind of a human writer of the Scriptures, that he is made more secure from error than he could have been by the mere use of his natural faculties. Complete freedom from error in declaring doctrines and stating facts implies plenary or full inspiration. Here many things may be known and recorded by the employment of the writer's unaided powers. The absolute truth of contents, both as to fact and doctrine, implies full inspiration, though the words, phrases, and manner be left to the human author, and imperfection of style and method be the result. In a book intended to teach truth for practical ends, such defects furnish no warrant for rejecting its authority. The New Testament was written under this inspiration.[2]

b. Inspiration of Elevation.

Where this occurs, such elevation of human powers is implied as to make the resulting productions more sublime, noble and pathetic than they could be as the result of merely natural genius. A part of the Bible was written under this inspiration. God only can draw the line here between the natural and the super-

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[1] *Inspiration of the Old and New Testaments,* pp. 30 ff.

[2] *Dissertation on Inspiration.* Works, vol. II: 194.

natural. Such inspiration may possibly have existed in the case of some heathen writers.

c. Inspiration of Suggestion.

This is the highest kind, and exists when God speaks directly to the mind, communicating what it could not otherwise know, dictating every word, making the human author a mere auditor or secretary of the divine. The Apòcalypse and some other parts of the New Testament were written under this influence.[1]

5. *Bishop Warburton.*

This prelate († 1779) calls the verbal dictation theory of inspiration 'a spurious opinion, begotten in the *Jewish* church by superstition, and nursed up by mistaken piety in the *Christian*, which hath almost passed into an article of faith.'[2] This shows incidentally the strength and prevalence of orthodox views in England during his day.

After stating the objections to the strict theory, and, as he thinks, proving their validity, he sets forth his own idea of inspiration somewhat as follows: 'The Holy Spirit so directed the pens of the writers that no considerable error should fall from them. He enlightened their minds with his immediate influence in all such matters as were necessary for the instruction of the church, but was content to preserve them by the more ordinary means of providence from any mistakes of consequence concerning those things which they had learned by the common way of information. In short, he watched over them incessantly, but with so suspended a hand as permitted the use, and left them to the guidance of their own faculties while they kept clear of error.'[3]

He anticipates and refutes the objection that this 'partial inspiration,' so called, does not enable us to distinguish the parts of Scripture which were written under the influence of the Spirit, and those which were the product of human knowledge only. "What matters this?" he says. "All we need to be assured of is that every sentence of Scripture which but remotely concerns

[1] *Dissertation on Inspiration.*

[2] Works, vol. VIII. *Doctrine of Grace,* 273.

[3] *Doct. of Grace,* pp. 275, 276.

either faith or practice, is infallibly true.[1] It is no matter how truth comes to us, if only we have it fully and certainly."

He thinks the partial theory important from an apologetic point of view, 'to free the infallible word of Scripture from all those embarassing circumstances which have been so artfully and disingenuously thrown out to its discredit.'[2]

6. *Middleton.*

Dr. C. Middleton († 1750), though a noted divine and scholar of the Church of England, has often been regarded as a disbeliever in the fundamental truths of Christianity. Not only did his views diverge from those even of the English latitudinarians hitherto considered, but his whole spirit and character were so different that, with his disciple Wakefield, he deserves a place by himself at the end of the list.

His aim seems to have been to eradicate as far as possible the supernatural element from the Scriptures, and to subvert by any and every possible method the received view of their infallible inspiration. He says bitterly that the orthodox doctrine on this subject is 'a clog and incumbrance to Christianity with all rational and thinking men,' and 'has no other foundation but in the mistaken sense of certain texts suggested by the prejudice of pious men.'[3] He grounds these statements partly on the so-called evidence of fact, saying that 'everyone may see apparent marks of human frailty in the Scriptures, not only in style and language, but sometimes also in matter.'

The evangelists make not the least pretensions to infallibility, and the apostles on some occasions distinctly disclaim it. Paul was sometimes destitute of divine assistance in explaining particular doctrines; and contradictions exist in the gospels which are incapable of reconciliation.[4] Two examples of his style of criticism may illustrate his spirit and method:

"Matthew either wilfully suppressed or negligently omitted three successive descents from father to son in the first chapter of his gospel.[5]

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[1] *Doct. of Grace*, p. 277.
[2] Id., 279.
[3] Works, vol. II: 19, 20.
[4] *Reflections on the Variations found in the Four Evangelists.*
[5] Works, vol. II: 24.

With reference to the protevangelic promise, "men who inquire into things will meet with many absurdities which reason must wink at, and many incredibilities which faith must digest, before they can admit the authority of this prophecy upon the evidence of this historical narration."[1]

7. *Wakefield.*

Gilbert Wakefield († 1801) published (1781) an 'Essay on Inspiration,' which is thus summed up by Mr. Leslie Stephen[2]: "He argued that the inspiration of the gospel was 'unnecessary because strength of judgment, adequate information and unbiased affection are sufficient guarantees for historical accuracy.' It was 'inexpedient and improbable' because a complete consistency would have led to suspicions of complicity.

"It was disclaimed by the writers themselves, and cases of absolute contradiction could be produced. Christ wished to show the efficacy of truth operating without supernatural advantages."

Mr. Stephen sets down the production as little more than an imitation of the older attack of Middleton.

I. THE DOCTRINE OF INSPIRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

We have already passed the dividing line which separates the present century from the past, and here perhaps a purely historical survey should stop. Yet surely the questions concerning inspiration are living ones, and possess an interest and importance other than that which is strictly historical. Some enthusiasts call them the 'burning, blazing' questions of the day and hour. We may at least be justified in presenting a sketch of the opinions of some leading and representative writers.

I. German Rationalists.

1. *Wegscheider.*

Wegscheider († 1849) held that the power by which the Scripture writers were enabled to fulfil their task differed in no essential

[1] *Works*, Vol. III: 183.

[2] *Hist. of Eng. Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II: 442–3.

respect from that possessed in common by all men as a gift from the Almighty, and manifested in the ordinary exercise of the moral and rational nature. He therefore made the essence of inspiration to consist simply in the fact that the sacred writers, in the spirit of piety, referred to God their good thoughts and ideas, and recorded them under divine guidance and assistance.[1]

2. *De Wette.*

This theologian († 1849) says: "The biblical doctrine of inspiration does not imply the superstitious notion of an influence of the Holy Ghost upon the sacred writers, abrogating the laws of nature, nor the exaggerated extension of inspiration to all things and everything in the Scriptures, nor yet the admission of their unconditional and unlimited infallibility.

"The essential idea is rather the religious sense of the divine working, or of the Holy Spirit, in the sacred writers, and this indeed solely in regard to their belief and elevation of soul, not in regard to their formation of ideas. It bore relation to historic truth, only in so far as its knowledge was dependent upon a holy love of truth."[2]

Baur criticises this as the familiar phraseology with which rationalism seeks to conceal the shallowness of its views.[3]

II. Schleiermacher.

Schleiermacher († 1834) gave up the old ecclesiastical theory of inspiration, and advocated views which formed on the whole its direct antithesis. These views, utterly unsound from the standpoint of orthodoxy, were yet thought to mark essential progress in the history of the doctrine.

Schleiermacher taught:

1. That the Spirit by which the Scriptures are inspired is not the personal Holy Ghost, but rather the 'genius' of Christianity individualizing itself in the sacred writers, and related to them as the general to the particular. This theologian promptly dismisses every question as to the more exact relation of this Holy Ghost to the Third Person of the Trinity.

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[1] *Institutiones*, § 44.

[2] *Dogmatik der Luth. Kirch.*, p. 41.

[3] *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 428.

2. The idea of inspiration is to be properly understood only from the history in which it appears. This inseparable connection of the inspiration-idea and a definite history, Schleiermacher maintains, and makes his point of departure. Cremer remarks: "Whether his conception is sufficiently broad and attaches to actual history, or merely to the theory of the same, is another matter."[1]

3. Inspiration was not a transient state, but a permanent attribute of the apostles—a part of their collective official activity. It was monstrous, he held, to maintain (for the purpose of giving special prominence to the inspiration of the Scriptures) that the apostles were less animated and moved by the Holy Ghost in other parts of their official work than in the act of writing.[2] Special apostolic inspiration is nothing appertaining exclusively to the New Testament books: these only participate in it, and inspiration in this narrower sense, as it is conditioned by the purity and completeness of the apostolic apprehension of Christianity, so it extends to all the official apostolic activity proceeding therefrom.[3]

4. The New Testament, on the other hand (while strictly supernatural neither in origin nor contents), is yet the most original and the purest expression of the new life flowing from Christ. No subsequent writings can be compared with those whose authors stood under the purifying influence of his living memory. To all later works they must possess, in some sense, a normative significance and relation.

5. So far as the Old Testament is concerned, Schleiermacher taught that it proceeded not from the 'genius' (gemein-geist) of Christianity, but from the narrow national spirit of Judaism. Belief in its special inspiration, or in the fact of a revelation made to the Jewish people, he regarded as inconsistent with the advanced stage of information respecting Jewish history. Faith in the revelation of God in Christ, he declared, was in no way dependent upon the acceptance of the Jewish canon.[4] He explained the admission of the Old Testament books to a place in

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[1] Herzog, *Art. Inspiration*, 757.
[2] Baur, *Dogm. gesch.*, III: 429.
[3] Id. ib.
[4] Id., III: 444.

the Christian canon, partly from the appeals made to them by New Testament writers, and partly from the historical connection between Christian worship and the Jewish synagogue.[1]

Rationalistic as these views of Schleiermacher clearly were, it is nevertheless true that the general influence, both of the man himself and of his doctrinal system, was opposed to rationalism, and in favor of positive faith in a positive revelation.

III. Supernaturalism.

This was a product of the transition period, and, while maintaining old forms of expression, departed essentially from the old orthodox Lutheran faith. The older divines had based their theory of inspiration upon the inner necessity of the thing; the supernaturalists founded theirs on the promise of Christ to bestow his Spirit on the apostles. The historical certainty of inspiration, then, rested upon the authority and trustworthiness of Jesus as an immediate divine teacher.[2] 'Supernaturalism' found the supernatural element in revelation, not in the *form* but in the *contents* of the sacred writings. Upon *revelation* it laid chief stress, and viewed the apostles as the chief witnesses thereto.[3] To this school the trustworthiness of the Scriptures was of supreme importance, rather than their divine origin and authority. It was believed that in the written records, the assistance of the Spirit was enjoyed to such a degree as to preserve the authors from error in matters of faith. In regard to non-essentials they were left to the exercise of their own faculties, and of course were fallible.

1. *Twesten.*

This divine was one of the supernaturalists attaching himself to the school of Schleiermacher. Like Nitzsch, he professed not to deviate essentially from the definitions of the older theologians, but rather to accept them. None the less does he confess a multitude of weaknesses in the old theory, and therefore make the more desperate effort to save his orthodoxy, and at the same time preserve his allegiance to his master. He actually succeeded, like other divines of this class, in wavering between the two.[4]

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[1] Beck, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 123.
[2] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 428.
[3] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 288.
[4] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 430.

2. *Elwert.*

'It was reserved for Elwert († 1865) to develop most thoroughly the theory of inspiration based upon principles laid down by Schleiermacher. This view supposes the apostles to have been inspired, only in so far as the Spirit works in them a faith by which they appropriated to themselves the revelation of Christ, and so far as from this, by means of faith, in the natural way of reflection, their religious ideas and conceptions found development.'[1]

The differences between this later and the earlier idea of inspiration, are thus summed up.[2]

a. "The sacred writers in the composition of their works were by no means in a purely passive condition; they rather made use of their natural powers and capacities, and impressed upon their productions unmistakably the stamp of their own individuality.

b. "The possession of the Holy Ghost in the case of the apostles was generically one with the participation of others in the same gift; but, agreeably to the end which was to be accomplished through them, and conformably to their relation to the original revelation in Christ, it was in their case pre-eminent in degree.

c. "The influence of the Holy Ghost upon them was not a suggestion of elaborated ideas and knowledges. The Spirit rather wrought in them the faith which was the mediating element between their religious conceptions and the revelation of Christ.

d. "The operation of the Holy Ghost is to be referred, not so much to individual matters as to the whole manner of thinking and feeling on the part of the apostles, within whom he dwelt as a permanent principle. The older theory was *right* in so far as it admitted his activity in every single part: in the resolution to write, in the formation of the thoughts and words, and in selection and arrangement. But it was *wrong* in this, that it admitted that relation of the divine activity at all points, equally and immediately.

e. "The idea of an unconditional infallibility of the apostolic writings is to be abandoned. Infallible they were, in so far as this, that they, and indeed they alone, lead the Christian soul to

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[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 430.

[2] Id. ib.

life in Christ, and transmit the fundamental truths in a perfectly trustworthy way. In other respects infallibility cannot be proved.

f. "The *form* belongs to the individuality of the apostles, and the influences they derived from their age. Each age has to conceive Christian doctrine in the form peculiar to it, and to mould it into system. If this form is penetrated with the spirit of Christianity, then all the manifoldness of the same is unattended with danger. For it is the way of the Spirit to exhibit itself in manifold form. Just because it is the Spirit of Eternal Revelation, it cannot, Christ excepted, express itself fully and completely in any finite spirit." [1]

IV. More General Evangelical.

This term is intended merely as a designation of the general views and sympathies of the writers whose names appear under it, without attempting to define more exactly their precise theological position.

1. *Neander.*

This divine († 1850), declared his conviction that it was necessary to distinguish what is *divine* from what is *human* in the gospel record. "I am sure," he says, "that the fall of the old form of the doctrine of inspiration, and indeed of many other doctrinal prejudices, will not only not involve the fall of the essence of the gospel, but will cause it no detriment whatever. Nay, I believe it will be more clearly and accurately understood, and men will be better prepared to fight with and conquer that inrushing infidelity, against which the weapons of the old dogmatism must be powerless in any land, and that from such a struggle a new theology, purified and renovated in the spirit of the gospel, must arise." [2]

Neander's own view of inspiration may be gathered from the following passage: "If we find, on close inquiry, that the historical statements of the evangelists are somewhat obscured by subjective influences, our estimate of their veracity need in no wise be affected thereby. Such a result would not conflict in the least with the only tenable idea of inspiration. The organs which the Holy Ghost illuminated and inspired to convey his

[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch,* III, 431.
[2] *Life of Christ,* Pref. p. xi.

truth to men, retained their individual peculiarites, and remained within the sphere of the psychological laws of our being. Besides, inspiration, both in its nature and its object, refers only to man's religious interests, and to points connected with it." [1]

2. *Stier.*

Stier († 1862) attempted to vindicate the old Lutheran doctrine of verbal inspiration, but could not avoid important critical concessions.

His theory was in some respects peculiar. He maintained that the Scriptures give us the thoughts, not of its individual authors, but of the Spirit, speaking through them. Inspiration applies not to the words but to *the Word.* "We possess what Christ spoke, not indeed the very words themselves, literally understood, but as indicated through the testimony of the Evangelists, and elevated into the Spirit."

The Scripture is infallible so far as general tenor is concerned, though there may be inaccuracies in minor matters. Being firm in the orthodox faith that the Holy Spirit is the primary author of Scripture, Stier did not trouble himself about the canonicity of the human authors. In his own development of the doctrine of inspiration, he exhibited an evangelical mystic tendency.

3. *Philippi.*

The general sympathies of Philippi were with the conservative and strict construction of our doctrine. Yet he comprehends inspiration under the more general idea of 'illumination,' i. e., the enlightening influence of the divine Spirit upon the church, from which, however, he is careful to distinguish it in various ways.[2] He defines inspiration as 'that act of the Spirit of God upon the human spirit, by means of which the latter becomes, as it were the object of revelation, and is enabled to receive it pure and unsullied;' or, 'that contact of the human spirit with the Spirit of God through which the revelation of the latter, in its pure and undistorted forms, becomes the possession of the former.[3]

He distinguishes three *degrees* of inspiration—the legal, the prophetic, and the apostolic, each higher, more complete, and

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[1] *Life of Christ*, p. 47.
[2] *Kirchl. Glaubensl.*, I: 207–21.
[3] Id., I: 222–3.

perfect than the other.[1] The last or apostolic stage is substantially coincident with revelation, the difference between the two being ideal rather than actual.

4. *Rothe.*

Rothe († 1867) maintained with steadfast determination the revealed character of Christianity. He did indeed abandon the old theory of inspiration, but only to undertake its scientific reconstruction on what seemed to him more sure foundations.[2]

To him the Bible is not the word of God, in the sense of an immediate communication of religious doctrine.[3] It is not revelation itself, but rather its record, in the purest and fullest meaning of the term. It is simply the overflow of the fulness of the divine life of its authors. The Bible is not inspired, in the old dogmatic sense of the word, for inspiration does not relate to literary activity. It is not a religious text-book, but rather a historical record, which, as a constituent part of revelation,[4] must be penetrated and surrounded by the peculiar atmosphere of the same, i. e., by the divine breath which it inhales. Nevertheless, from its historic character it must be content patiently to abide the free scientific investigations of historical criticism respecting the canon as a whole, and the canonicity of single parts; for the great revolution in religious knowledge which characterizes modern times finds the foundation and centre of Christianity, not in a book, but in a *person;* not in a doctrinal system, but in facts and deeds, i. e., in history.[5]

5. *Martensen.*

Martensen, bishop of Seeland, Denmark, occupies in general the position of Rothe, though modified by the influence of Schleiermacher. With reference to—

a. The Nature of Inspiration

he holds, in the first place, to an inseparable union between the miracle of the Incarnation and that of inspiration. Properly speaking, they are only the two sides—one objective and the other

[1] *Kirchl. Glaubensl.*, I: 223 ff.
[2] Kahnis, *Luther. Dogm.*, 287.
[3] Rothe, *Zur Dogmatik* (1863); *Dritte Abhand.*, 155.
[4] Id., 26, 129, 319.
[5] Id. 317.

subjective—of the one fundamental miracle of the new creation, to which the Christian church traces its origin.[1]

The miracle of inspiration took place on the day of Pentecost, and was the breaking forth of the Spirit of God within the spirit of man. The gift of tongues was essentially a state of ecstasy, but this did not constitute inspiration. It was only its accompaniment, and as it were a shell or husk, within which was contained, and out of which proceeded the clear and historical consciousness of revelation.[2]

Inspiration in the primitive age was not confined exclusively to the apostles, but (distinguishing degrees in the same) was bestowed upon them in its *fulness* for their official work as founders of the church.[3] Their relation to the Spirit was not one of bondage, but rather of freedom; and in their case inspiration consisted in a progressive communication of the Spirit, going hand in hand with the progressive development both of consciousness and of freedom.[4] Personality in the Scripture writers was therefore not lost, but preserved, intensified and elevated. It is to be noted also that not the individual, but the total apostolic consciousness can be taken as an adequate expression of the mind of the Spirit; and this was raised above temporal limitations and imperfections only in regard to the articles of fundamental truth.[5]

In the Holy Scriptures Martensen finds the ripened fruit of inspiration. He would emphasize both the *union* and the *distinction* of the divine and human elements contained therein.[6] The formula of the former is, 'the Scripture *is* the word of God;' that of the latter, 'the Scriptures *contain* the word of God.' Each is true when properly defined and explained.

b. The Extent of Inspiration.

Martensen would not extend inspiration to every tittle and every point in the Bible.[7] Something transient and casual exists in every book of the Old Testament, and also in the New. We cannot maintain the representative character of everything in the

[1] *Christian Dogmatics*, 19.
[2] Id., 338, 339.
[3] Id., 342.
[4] Id., 342.
[5] Id., 343, 402, 403.
[6] Id., 403.
[7] Id., ib.

New Testament as a pattern for our guidance: e. g. community of goods, combination of the agapæ with the Lord's supper, &c. Only the general practice of the church is exemplary for permanent guidance.[1]

He does not view possible or actual contradictions in chronological and historical details as harmful, unless of such a kind as to affect the *substance* of revelation, i. e. to distort our apprehension of Christ's person, or disturb the fundamental basis of revealed truth.[2]

6. *Hofman.*

This divine was inclined to a free construction of the doctrine of inspiration.[3] He regarded the limitation of the idea to Scripture as unwarranted and arbitrary, and would himself extend it to heathen writings and poets. He said that the doctrine of inspiration was nothing else than a 'conclusion-backward' (Rückschluss) from the *character* of the Scriptures to their *origin*. From this view also resulted the theory of its infallibility. He would not himself admit that the teaching of any single apostle was absolutely free from error; much less could any one portraiture of Christ adequately set forth the full glory of its subject. He did affirm, however, that the *collective* preaching of the apostles contained the conditions of an absolutely errorless apprehension of Christ. (Compare Martensen above.) The Bible, accordingly, is not wholly free from error, but it is the perfectly sufficient instrument for attaining an absolutely infallible knowledge of divine revelation, since it contains within itself the means of self-purification from the errors clinging to its individual parts: i. e. it contains the means of self-correction. This is its *actual* infallibility, and herein also lies its sufficiency.[4]

7. *Tholuck.*

This theologian in his 'Essay on the Doctrine of Inspiration' maintains:

a. That what is known as the old orthodox theory (i. e. the high Lutheran) is in reality modern, not dating back even to the Reformation.

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[1] *Christian Dogmatics*, 405.

[2] Id., 404.

[3] *Schrift-beweis. passim.*

[4] Beck, *Dogm.-gesch.*, 127.

b. That it was developed as a means of furnishing to Protestantism a counter-infallibility to that claimed by Catholicism for œcumenical councils and the pope.

c. That in reality it has placed in the hands of rationalism a most formidable weapon of attack upon the church.

d. That the free conception of the doctrine, so far from being the fruit of modern rationalism, has had its advocates in every age of the church, and must perforce find recognition and acceptance as the result of careful and candid reflection upon the text of Scripture.[1]

The main part of the essay is an ardent polemic against the received doctrine of the absolute inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures, evidence being drawn not only from the history of opinion, but also from the character and constitution of the sacred books themselves. He asserts the clear and certain existence of imperfections and errors in the Scriptures as we have them, but thinks that so long as these do not touch essential matters, i. e. the substance of revealed truth, they can do no damage to Christian faith, nor to the doctrine of inspiration properly conceived. The witness of the Spirit is certain to faith, and faith once become conscious of its own essential character, unhesitatingly leaves to science all that transcends this province.[2]

Tholuck's work thus appears to be mainly negative or destructive. He has, however, positive convictions of his own, and devotes the concluding part of the essay to a defence and proof of his position, that a divine and infallible inspiration, i. e. a direct and absolute witness of the Spirit, does relate to the *kernel* of Scripture, in other words, to its properly *revealed parts*, including everything that concerns the Christian doctrine of salvation.

8. *Düsterdieck.*

Düsterdieck published, a number of years since, a volume entitled "Apologetische Beiträge," mainly devoted to the question of inspiration in relation to the individuality of the sacred writers, and their real or supposed mistakes.

He believes that they did fall into errors, e. g., such as that of expecting Christ's near return, but holds that this did not in any measure detract from their authority.

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[1] Baur, *Dogm.-gesch.*, III: 439.

[2] Tholuck, translated in *Noyes' Theol. Essays*, 105, 106.

"I believe," he says, "on the one hand, in a theory of inspiration which admits the possibility of errors, not only in historical and other external matters, but even in matter of doctrine. On the other hand, I reject every theory of the nature of the Scriptures, and the inspiration of its writers as *false* and *destructive*, which is incompatible with Paul's declaration in I Thess. ii: 13, "When ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God."

9. *Hengstenberg.*

The views of this theologian († 1869) upon inspiration seem in many respects like those of 'one born out of due time,' but really correspond with his reactionary ideas upon other matters. He occupied very nearly the position of Philo and of Justin Martyr, and the other old apologists.

He finds the source of inspiration in prophetic ecstasy, which necessarily involves the cessation of human agency and intelligent perception. The Hebrew seers were not merely passive instruments, but were actually rapt into a state of prophetic frenzy, raving like the Pythian priestess or the other heathen sibyls and soothsayers of antiquity. The other developments of Hengstenberg's theory can easily be imagined.

10. *Van Oosterzee.*

This representative of the evangelical Dutch school may be most conveniently mentioned here. He holds—

a. As to the *nature* of inspiration, that it was not an external, mechanical, blindly impelling force, but a heavenly influence inwardly exerted upon the writers, whereby they were guided and strengthened for self-activity.[1] It did not therefore prejudice, but rather enlarge, intensify and glorify their individuality. The Holy Spirit took possession of each man, and used him as, according to the nature of his sanctified personality, he really was.

Inspiration is not to be conceived as a mere momentary assistance granted to the sacred writers exclusively in and during the act of writing, but as the natural consequence of their being

[1] *Christian Dogmatics*, I: 200.

personally led by the Holy Ghost, who controlled their thinking and working, and in this way also their writing.[1]

b. These men were in a special manner, but in *varying degrees*, the organs of the Holy Ghost.

c. Inspiration extended not only to great but to little things in Scripture, not only to the things taught, but to the words and the whole style of speech. This is argued from the indissoluble union of form and contents; and archaisms, solecisms and other peculiarities are not judged inconsistent with this view.[2]

d. Inspiration had its limits.

Van Oosterzee admits real contradictions in the Scriptures, and denies unlimited and infallible inspiration, except in regard to that which concerns God's saving truth.[3]

Our study of the doctrine of inspiration as held by the theologians of modern Germany cannot fail to impress us strongly with two facts: one, the strong reaction in religious minds against the destructive excesses of theological rationalism in the last century, with especial reference to our doctrine; and the other, the equally strong opposition to the rigid dogma as held and taught by the Protestant scholastics of the seventeenth century.

Whatever the varying standpoints of the German theology of the present age, all forms, with rare exceptions, agree in the common demand of a fuller recognition of the *human side* of the Scriptures. It generally admits in regard to the *nature* of inspiration, no genuine and fundamental distinction between the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of the sacred writers, and upon common Christian believers. The difference is not one of kind, but only of degree.

As to *extent*, inspiration covers only what are technically called *essential truths*,—room is left for endless imperfections, both of form and of fact, provided the latter concern only minor details. Where the line shall be drawn between the 'minor' and the 'major,' is confessedly more difficult to determine.

The Bible *is* not, but *contains* the word of God. Not writings but men were inspired.

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[1] *Christian Dogmatics*, I: 201.
[2] Id 203.
[3] Id. 202.

V. French Orthodoxy.

Modern French orthodoxy with reference to the doctrine of inspiration finds its chief representatives in Gasparin and Gaussen. Both have published treatises which have been translated into English.[1] Other writers have taken much more moderate views.

1. *Gaussen.*

This divine († 1863) taught the absolute inspiration and divinity of the Scriptures in every part—including form as well as substance, expression as well as matter. He says: "The word of God is God speaking in man, God speaking by man, God speaking as man, God speaking for man."

In regard to Paul's assertion that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, &c.," he remarks: "It admits of no restriction; it is the *whole Scripture*, all that is written (*πᾶσα γραφή*)—that is to say, the thoughts that have already put on the clothing of language. It admits of no restriction; all Scripture is so far a work of God that it is represented as given to us by the breath of God, in the same manner as the word of a man is given by the breath of his mouth. The prophet is the mouth of the Most High."[2] Again: "The entire Bible is not only named the 'Word of God' (*ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ*), it is called without distinction, the 'Oracles of God' (*τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*). Who does not know what the oracles were in the opinion of the ancients? Was there then a single word which could express more absolutely a complete and verbal inspiration?"[3]

Gaussen professes to admit, and tries to illustrate the preservation of the individuality of the sacred writers when under the influence of inspiration. He repudiates all notion of the state of ecstasy, and maintains their self-control. He yet refers all differences in biblical accounts of the same transaction, and indeed all the human as well as the divine phenomena, to the Holy Ghost as their author. Immediate and universal divine efficiency, and coexistent human freedom and individuality, he affirms. To reconcile or explain the two, he finds of course a very different matter.

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[1] Gasparin, "*Plenary Inspiration,*" *translated by Montgomery.* Gaussen, "*Theopneustie,*" 1842. *Eng. trans. by Kirk*, 1846.

[2] Gaussen, p. 345.

[3] Id., p. 355.

2. *Meylan.*

M. Auguste Meylan, a Swiss Protestant pastor, published in 1877 a treatise on the Canonicity and Inspiration of the Scriptures. His positions are, for a continental divine, on the whole decidedly conservative. He defines inspiration as 'that action of God upon the sacred writers, which put them in a condition to receive the revelation in its integrity, and transmit it to us without alteration.'[1]

He disavows all sympathy with dictation theories, and allows a human factor in the composition of the Scriptures. He admits progress in the course of divine revelation, and degrees in inspiration, varying according to the requirements and circumstances of the case. He even concedes contradictions in matters of minor detail among the sacred narratives, but repudiates the consequences of such concessions.

The author is unable to bring himself to the admission of the distinctions, so generally recognized by continental writers upon inspiration, between that element in the Bible which stands in relation to human salvation, and that which has no connection with it. Once, however, he seems to approximate the idea, (p. 188.)

M. Meylan admits a difference of *kind*, and not merely of *degree* between apostolic authors and Christian writers in general, thus arraying himself against the the rationalists, and allying himself with pronounced advocates of evangelical orthodox opinions.

3. *Godet.*

Dr. Godet, professor at Neuchatel, approving in general the definition of inspiration given by Meylan, yet declares his conviction that the true light can be shed upon the circle of questions relating thereto (perhaps the most difficult in all sacred science), only by a clear and frank admission of the distinction between the Bible and the word of God. The Bible includes more than the immediate revelation of God. It *contains* the word of God, but is not *identical with* it. Nothing can be more delicate than the problems which grow out of this distinction, but the time has come for the church to rise to the recognition of this important fact.[2]

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[1] Revue Chretienne, 1878, p. 57.

[2] Id., ib.

French rationalism, in the persons of Edmund Scherer, Colani and other writers in the "Revue de Theologie," has asserted German freedom of investigation.

VI. Opinion in England.

We have seen that the evangelic orthodoxy of Germany has not yet recovered from the blighting effects of the rationalistic reaction of the eighteenth century against the dogmatic exaggerations and absurdities of the seventeenth. It is but fair then to notice that in Great Britain and America a counter-revolution set in against previously prevailing latitudinarianism, in favor of higher, stricter and more churchly views concerning the divine origin and character of the Holy Scriptures. The doctrine of the plenary inspiration and infallible authority of the Bible has had during the present century a long line of champions, all of whom with pious intent, and not a few with learning and acuteness, have defended what was to them the cause of truth, and foundation of the 'faith once delivered.' The reader will at once recall the names of many distinguished writers, whose works are in every reference library, and some of them the companion of every pastor in his study.

To attempt to sketch these views, set forth often in extended monographs, would be impossible and useless, especially as this sketch is not intended for the defense of imperilled orthodoxy. The historic interest may be best served by noting chiefly the *deviations* from generally received opinions, among writers and scholars of varying schools of thought.

1. *Paley.*

This divine († 1805) says: "The doctrines came to the apostles by revelation. They were wont to illustrate, support and enforce them by such analogies, arguments and considerations as their own thoughts suggested.

"The doctrine must be received, but it is not necessary, in order to defend Christianity, to maintain the propriety of every comparison, or the validity of every argument which an apostle has brought into the discussion."[1]

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[1] *Evidences of Christianity*, Pt. III: ch. 2.

2. *Priestly.*

Dr. Priestly († 1808) holds us bound to consider the great truths uttered by the apostles as from God—divine, and worthy of the highest regard. He judges us not bound, however, to accord like faith to the minutiæ of what they mention, nor to their arguments and reasonings either from facts or revealed doctrines.

3. *Heber.*

Bishop Heber († 1826) declares[1] that 'mistakes in points where inspiration does not properly apply, can by no means derogate from the inspired character of a work, in those respects where inspiration is either needed or promised.' He also says that 'circumstances which, whether true or false, have no positive bearing on the doctrine or character of Christ, may belong indeed to his history, but are no essential parts of the gospel.' The bishop insists that the *words of Christ* are reported by the evangelists with supernatural and infallible authority.

4. *Parry.*

Wm. Parry († 1818) endeavored to prove that there was no necessity for inspiration or immediate divine suggestion of what the apostles knew already, either from the discourses of Christ or their own observation. The Holy Spirit taught them all things respecting Christianity, of which they were not previously in possession—the whole of that *religious truth* which it was necessary for them to teach, or for men to know. Since he preserved them from all error in what they taught and recorded, the same result is secured as though he had dictated every syllable of their writings. If they had been mere machines under his direction, they could in no case have given to men more than a *perfect rule* as to all religious opinions and duties, all matters of faith and practice. But such a perfect rule we have in the New Testament, if we consider the writers as under the Spirit's infallible guidance in all the religious sentiments they express, whether he suggested the very words in which they are written or not.[2]

[1] *Bampton Lectures* (1815), pp. 301–2.

[2] *Inquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Inspiration of the Apostles, &c.*

5. *Coleridge.*

It was Coleridge († 1834), perhaps, more than any one else, who really domesticated in England, and put in permanent circulation there, views on the subject of inspiration hitherto current chiefly in Germany, and based rather upon profound acquaintance with German metaphysical philosophy, than with the genuine science of Christian theology. The theory propounded in his 'Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit'[1] is known sometimes as the '*subjective*,' and again as one form of the '*partial*' theory. Really it is both subjective and partial.

a. He distinguishes carefully *immediate divine revelation*, contained in the Law and the Prophets (and of course absolutely infallible), from *inspiration*, or the actuation and assistance of the Holy Spirit vouchsafed to the authors of other parts of Scripture. The latter is only the 'highest degree of that grace and communion of the Spirit, which the church under all circumstances, and every regenerate member of the church, is permitted to hope and instructed to pray for.' In other words, supernatural inspiration, in the proper sense of the term, belongs only to the Law and the Prophets.

b. Consistently with his view, Coleridge admits errors and discrepancies in those matters which 'stand in no necessary connection with the known and especial ends and purposes of the Scriptures.'

c. He bases his belief in the divinity of the Scriptures, chiefly upon the testimony of inward personal experience. 'Whatever *finds* me, bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit.'

Some younger friends and followers of Coleridge abandoned his careful distinction between revelation and inspiration, wholly displaced the supernatural element from the Bible, and ascribed to it only such inspiration as is common to all believers.

6. *Arnold.*

One of the pupils of Thos. Arnold († 1842) asserts that he had no accurate, precise, and sharply defined view of inspiration.[2]

[1] *Works*, Vol. V: 569 ff.
[2] B. Price, in Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, 197.

This may be true, and yet it may not be difficult to form reasonably distinct impressions as to his general ideas. According to the same authority, he found and acknowledged in the Bible an oracle from God, a positive and supernatural revelation made to man, an immediate inspiration of the Spirit.[1]

Many utterances on the subject of inspiration are found in his 'Sermons on the Christian Life: Its Course, Hindrances and Helps.' Thus he says: "Paul had the Spirit of God so abundantly that no human being ever enjoyed a larger share," and asks, "Are not his writings most truly to be called inspired? Can any reasonable mind doubt that to refuse to believe his testimony is really to disbelieve God?"[2]

While Arnold holds, however, that the Scriptures are divinely framed and superintended, he would not have his faith depend on the accuracy of a date or a minute historical particular.[3] He calls it an unwarranted interpretation of the term 'inspiration,' to believe that it is equivalent to a communication of divine perfections.[4] In whatever points errors may be discernible in Scripture, either it does not concern what God has done for us, or what we are to do for him; or, if it seems to do so, God has made some provision for the case, to remove what it might otherwise have had of difficulty.

The following utterances will convey some idea of his views as to the *extent* of the divine influence upon the minds of the sacred writers: "Inspiration does not raise a man above his own time, or make him, even in respect to that which he utters when inspired, perfect in wisdom and goodness; but it so overrules his language that it shall contain a meaning more than his own mind was conscious of, and thus give to it a character of divinity and a power of perpetual application."[5]

7. *Robertson.*

The views of F. W. Robertson († 1853), are best disclosed in two letters, Nos. cxxxix and cxl of his "Life and Letters."[6]

[1] Stanley, *Life of Arnold*, 197.
[2] *Sermons*, p. 400.
[3] Id. 398.
[4] Id. 399.
[5] *Sermon on Interpretation of Scripture*, 141, Eng. Ed.
[6] Harper's Edition, pp. 306–7.

"The prophetic power, in which, I suppose, is chiefly exhibited that which we mean by inspiration, depends almost entirely on moral greatness. The prophet discussed large principles, true for all time—principles social, political, ecclesiastical, and principles of life, chiefly by largeness of heart, and sympathy of spirit with God's Spirit. *That is my conception of inspiration.*

"The inspiration of the Bible is a large subject. I hold it to be inspired, not dictated. It is the word of God—the word of man: as the former, perfect; as the latter, imperfect. God the Spirit, as the Sanctifier, does not produce absolute perfection of human character; God the Spirit, as an Inspirer, does not produce absolute perfection of human knowledge; and for the same reason in both cases,—the human element which is mixed up—else there could have been no progressive dispensations.

"I hold it, therefore, as a proof of the inspiration of the Bible, and divinely wise, to have given a spiritual revelation, i. e., a revelation concerning the truths of the soul and its relation to God, in popular and incorrect language. Do not mistake that word *incorrect;* incorrect is one thing, false another."

8. *Hare.*

Archdeacon J. C. Hare († 1855), in common with other representatives of the Broad-church school, attributes inspiration to the common grace of God's quickening and enlightening Spirit, shared by the sacred writers in common with other Christians, but possessed in greater measure. His general view is expressed in a quotation which he makes approvingly from Ackermann, a German theologian.

"Theologians have not infrequently been guilty of a gross error with regard to the biblical idea of inspiration, from looking upon it as mechanical instead of dogmatical. * * * Hence they ought never to have adopted or encouraged the crude notion that persons under inspiration were like so many drawers, wherein the Holy Ghost put such and such things, which they then took out as something ready-made, and laid before the world, so that their recipiency with reference to the Spirit inspiring them was like that of a letter box. Whereas, inspiration, according to the Bible, is to be regarded as a vivifying and animating operation on the spiritual faculty in man, by which its energy and capacity are extraordinarily heightened, so that his powers of internal percep-

tion discern things spread out before them clearly and distinctly, which at other times lay beyond his range of vision, and were dark and hidden."[1]

9. *Maurice.*

The views of Maurice († 1872) on the question of inspiration were determined partly by his own subjective tendency and mystical turn of mind, and partly by his unbounded admiration for Coleridge, and the readiness with which he yielded to the formative influence of that profound thinker.

The nature of the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of the sacred writers was, in his opinion, essentially the same in character with that enjoyed by Christian believers of the present day. Thus he says explicitly: "We must forego the demand which we make on the conscience of young men, when we compel them to declare that they regard the inspiration of the Bible as generically unlike that which God bestows on his children in this day."[2] He also denounces the common and orthodox course of setting up the Bible as a book which incloses all that may lawfully be called inspiration, and predicts that it will lead to a general alienation from the sacred records, and a wide-spread unbelief in Christianity.[3]

10. *Stanley.*

The late Dean of Westminster († 1881) has usually been regarded as a typical representative of the Broad-church school of English theology. His later writings, however, would seem to indicate somewhat *extreme* negative opinions. The first difficulty is, that his positions are implied rather than explicitly stated in his writings. One may feel a reasonable confidence of understanding him, and yet hesitate to attempt the formulation of his theory. For a long time his views in biblical criticism were tacitly associated with those of Colenso; his more recent attitude, however, has been identified with that of Mr. Robertson Smith, though high official station in the church may have dictated caution in avowing it. Some of his warmest admirers have lately

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[1] *Mission of the Comforter,* 1: 500.
[2] *Theological Essays,* McMillan, 1853, p. 339.
[3] Id., 349.

declared it impossible to tell from his published writings, whether he had any faith in the supernatural or not. One has bluntly asserted that 'he did not credit the miraculous history of Jesus Christ himself.'

11. *Jowett.*

Mr. Benjamin Jowett sets forth his views on the question of inspiration in the appendix of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Unfortunately for the writer, this book is not now at hand. An approximate idea of his position, however, may be gathered from his miscellaneous theological essays, which are easily accessible. In one,[1] after enumerating various opinions entertained, he says: "There is no foundation for any of the higher or supernatural views of inspiration in the gospels or epistles. Apostolic writings nowhere lead us to suppose that their authors were free from errors or infirmity."

It is quite in keeping with this utterance, that he should see imperfect or opposite aspects in different books of the Old Testament, variations of fact in the gospels, and inaccuracies of thought and language in the writings of Paul.

We now come to a group of writers, of orthodox instincts, and generally reputed soundness on this especial question, who have, however, this more particularly in common, that they admit different *degrees* of inspiration in the sacred records. In so doing, they follow the example of Lowth, Whitby, Doddridge and others.

12. *J. Pye Smith.*

Dr. Smith († 1851) speaks first for a careful distinction of revelation from inspiration. The former he makes to be the 'communication of knowledge not otherwise attainable, by immediate divine influence on the human mind.' The latter consists in 'qualifying the recipient of revelation to communicate the revealed knowledge to his fellow-creatures with perfect certainty and accuracy.'[2]

Inspiration may exist without revelation, as when one by divine appointment faithfully transmits to others information previously

[1] Essay on *Interpretation of Scriptare. Essays and Reviews*, 380.
[2] *Scrip. Testim. to Messiah*, I: 24.

gained through any of the providentially appointed means of acquiring it.[1]

Among the author's conclusions regarding Holy Scripture are:

a. That evidence does not warrant the belief that all parts of the Old Testament were immediately dictated by the Holy Spirit, and possess the same kind of inspiration.[2]

b. Different subjects require different kinds or degrees of inspiration. A historian, relating what he learned from various trustworthy sources, would need divine influences of a different nature from those required to enable one to penetrate into future ages, or declare the hitherto secret counsels of the Deity. There must be revelation in the one case, while in the other it was sufficient if the writer was directed to the proper use of materials, and was preserved from mistake and misrepresentation.[3]

c. It was consistent with complete inspiration that the writers should be left to the free exercise of their own mental powers in the use of words, phrases and manner. Individual peculiarities would be preserved, but the matter would be of divine and infallible truth.[4]

Dr. Smith held, however, that when occasion required the divine suggestion of words or clauses, then miraculous intervention took place.[5]

13. *Wilson.*

Daniel Wilson, bishop of Calcutta († 1858), conceded both divine and human agency in the formation of the Scriptures,—the plenary influence of the Almighty Spirit, and yet the free exercise of the characteristic faculties of the writers.[6]

He sums up his idea of the *nature* of inspiration as follows: "We attribute such an inspiration to the minds of the sacred writers as exempted them from all error whatever in the communication of the divine will, and gave to every part of their declarations its full sanction as the infallible word of God; and at

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1 *Script. Test. &c.*, I: 24.
2 Id., 27.
3 Id., 61.
4 Id. ib.
5 Id., 59.
6 *Evidences of Christianity*, Vol. I, Lect. XIII, p. 319.

the same time, allowed to each writer the free exercise of all his natural powers, and the delivery of the divine revelation according to his own habits and associations."[1]

As to the *extent* of inspiration, he distinguished four degrees or kinds.

a. That of *suggestion*—including such communications of the Holy Spirit as suggested and dictated minutely every part of the truths delivered.

b. That of *direction*—or such assistance as left the writers to describe the matter revealed in their own way, directing only the mind in the exercise of its powers.

c. That of *elevation*—adding a greater strength and vigor to the efforts of the mind than the writers could otherwise have attained.

d. That of *superintendency*—or the watchful care which preserved generally from anything being put down, derogatory to the revelation with which it was connected.[2]

This lowest kind, being always operative in the minds of the sacred writers, is carefully defined as to its sphere. Bishop Wilson concludes that it reached even to the least circumstances and most casual allusions of the sacred writers, in the proportion which each bore to the revelation itself.[3]

14. *Henderson.*

The well known work of Dr. Henderson needs little further reference than the notice of his five-fold distinction of degrees in inspiration, viz.: those of *divine excitement*, *invigoration*, *superintendence*, *guidance*, and *direct revelation.*

He held that the part taken by the Holy Spirit was confined to that which was necessary to make a divinely authoritative record; all the rest was left to men, e. g. the use of historical material and the choice of words.

Though objecting thus to verbal inspiration, Dr. Henderson says there is no material difference between himself and advocates of the opposite view, as he holds the sacred writers to have been 'always secured by celestial influence against the adoption of any

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[1] *Evidences of Christianity*, Vol. I, Lect. XIII: 321.
[2] Id., 323.
[3] Id., 325.

forms of speech or collocations of words that would have injured the exhibition of divine truth, or that did not adequately give it expression."[1]

15. *Browne.*

Among the latest works written from this point of view, is that of Walter R. Browne on 'The Inspiration of the New Testament.'[2]

This author distinguishes three distinct states of inspiration in the writers of Scripture, as follows:

a. "*Direct Inspiration*, when the writer is merely transcribing a revelation from God, made immediately to himself; and even in the transcription has a supernatural power working in and controlling him.

b. *Indirect Inspiration*, when the same controlling power operates, but when the matter recorded, although supernatural, is known to the writer, mainly at least, by the ordinary channels of information. This matter may be either supernatural words (as in the case of Christ's discourses given in the gospels), or else merely supernatural deeds, or arrangements; and the extent and nature of the controlling power will be different in these different cases.

To distinguish classes (a) and (b), we may say briefly that the writer is in the first a *messenger*, in the second, a *historian*.

c. *Preventive Inspiration*, when the matters are wholly within the writer's knowledge, and at the same time of no immediate supernatural import, being in general a mere filling in of details. Here the writer will simply be left to himself, to tell his story in his own way; and the only work of inspiration will be to *prevent* the introduction of any serious error, such as could not be detected by the readers of later generations, and might produce evil results."[3]

Compare also on Degrees in Inspiration.
Hill, *Lectures on Divinity*, p. 156.
Dick, *Essay on Inspiration*, p. 8; *also Lects. on Theol.*, I: 115.

Some general similarity of view, at least upon the question engaging our attention, may be detected in the writings of the several divines now to be mentioned.

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[1] *Divine Inspiration.*

[2] C. Keegan Paul & Co., London, 1880.

[3] *Inspiration of the New Testament*, pp. 144–5.

16. *Conybeare.*

W. D. Conybeare († 1857), held with reference to—

a. The *nature* of inspiration—that the influence of the divine Spirit so guided and guarded the sacred writers as to suggest all essential and appropriate truth, and to preserve from all error. He rejected the notion of *degrees* in inspiration, as unnecessary, and unsupported by facts.

b. The *extent* of inspiration—that the divine influence extended not to verbal expression, but only to the securing of a certain and infallible standard of religious truth, from which there could be no appeal. In points not concerning this, guidance was not needed nor imparted. Conybeare, for example, doubts if inspiration extended to all of Paul's allusions to Jewish chronology. He strenuously insists, however, that in matters bearing in any way upon religion, no such allowances can be made.[1]

17. *Alford.*

The late Dean Alford († 1871) entertained very decided opinions upon the question of inspiration, which he sets forth in the Introduction to his Greek Testament, and incidentally brings out with great clearness in the body of the Commentary.

He says that inspiration did not make of the sacred writers mere channels for the transmission of infallible truth. The working of the Holy Spirit in them was analogous to his influence on every believer in Christ, viz., in the retention of individual character, thought and feeling, and in the gradual development of the ways and purposes of God in their minds. As their situation and office was peculiar and unexampled, so for its fulfillment peculiar and unexampled gifts were bestowed upon them. One of these, in the case of the apostles, was the recalling to their minds by the Holy Spirit of those things which our Lord had said.[2]

Our author contends that divine superintendence, as exercised in the composition of the gospels, extended no farther than that general leading, which, in main and essential points, ensured harmony between the writers. He is strong in the conviction that the phenomena of the gospels are inconsistent with the strict

[1] *Lects. on Theology*, London, 1836.
[2] *Proleg. Greek Test.*, Ch. I, § VI: 8.

verbal theory. He admits actual discrepancies in the evangelic narrative, and yet declares for 'plenary inspiration,' properly understood and defined.[1]

His precise view of the *nature* of inspiration is contained in the following utterance: "The inspiration of the sacred writers, I believe to have consisted in the fulness of the influence of the Holy Spirit, specially raising them to, and enabling them for, their work,—*in a manner which distinguishes them from all other writers in the world, and their work from all other works.*"[2]

18. *Browne.*

Bishop Harold Browne contributed an essay on inspiration to the volume entitled "Aids to Faith," written in reply to "Essays and Reviews."

He holds that definite theories of inspiration are doubtful and dangerous, for the reason that while there are clearly both divine and human elements in the complex product going by this name, it is difficult to define the exact relation of the two.[3]

The *human* side of the Bible comes out in the different styles of the writers, and in apparent slight discrepancies in stating matters of detail. The few unimportant divergences which occur are of great apologetic value, as proving among other things the independence of the writers.[4]

The *divine* side of the Scriptures, or the genuine supernatural element, appears in infallible foreknowledge and actual predictions of future events, i. e. in *prophecy.*[5]

This undeniable fact differentiates biblical inspiration from that of mere genius. It cannot be explained on the principle of the simple exaltation of intuitional consciousness[6] (see Morell below), but proves an actual communication of the divine will to mankind, through the prophetic and other books of the Old Testament as channels.

What holds good of the Old Testament, holds good also *a fortiori* of the New; for no one could contend that the apostles—

[1] *Prolog. Gk. Test., Ch.* I, § VI: 21.
[2] Id., ib.
[3] *Aids to Faith*, 349.
[4] Id., 356.
[5] Id., 357.
[6] Id., 359.

'with Christ's own mission, with the gift of tongues and miraculous powers, with the special promises of the Comforter and guidance by him into all truth, and with the assurance of Christ's own presence—were in a worse position, or more liable to error than the prophets.'[1]

The essential thing is infallibility in things pertaining to God and religious truth. Yet with all the pains and ingenuity which have been bestowed upon the subject, no charge of error, even in matters of human knowledge, has ever yet been substantiated against any of the writers of the Scriptures.[2] If the case had been otherwise, there would still be no cause for disquietude, so long as the supernatural element was such, both in character and extent, as to secure infallible truth in things divine.

19. *Farrar.*

We may note here the definition of inspiration given by the learned A. S. Farrar, in his 'Critical History of Free Thought:'[3]

"Inspiration is, if analyzed psychologically, probably a form of the 'reason;' but, if viewed theologically, it is an elevated state of this faculty, brought about by the miraculous and direct operation of God's Spirit: so that in this view it differs in kind, and not merely in depth from human genius."[4]

A series of writers holding more radical opinions now demand our notice.

20. *Davidson.*

Dr. S. Davidson asserts that inspiration did not lift man above error. It did not confer upon the sacred writers the attribute of infallibility. They were still peccable men, but, possessing the Spirit of God in remarkable degree, were gifted with peculiar insight into his mind.

Their own subjectivity mingled with and formed part of their inspiration. We take them as guides to faith and practice generally, without adopting all that they propounded, or believing that they could foretell future events.[5]

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[1] *Aids to Faith*, 359.

[2] Id., 367.

[3] *Bampton Lects.*, 1862.

[4] Id. pp. 40, 470.

[5] *Introd. to New Testament*, I: 14–15.

21. *Warrington.*

Geo. Warrington quotes with approval in his treatise,[1] Arnold's statement that 'the faculties of an inspired man are left in their natural state, except so far as regards the especial message with which he is charged.'

Summing up the results of his investigations of Scripture facts and phenomena, he declares,

a. Inspiration does not extend to the letter, but is confined to the spirit of the Bible.

b. The divine influence does not extend to statements regarded as narratives of matters of fact, but is confined to spiritual teaching, the question of personal sentiments being left undecided.

c. There is no reason to regard any portion of this teaching as uninspired, even when colored by personal or historical influences; there is rather every reason to regard the *whole* as inspired.

22. *Robertson Smith.*

To most conservative scholars it can scarcely seem less than absurd to speak of a theory of inspiration as held by Professor Robertson Smith. Yet he professes to have such a theory, and that the only correct one. He declares it consistent with the Westminster standards, and variant only from their traditional interpretation. It is rather incidentally developed than explicitly stated in his answer to the libel brought against him in due course of ecclesiastical procedure, and in his volume, 'The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.' It can really be deduced only from a summary of the results of his destructive work upon the Jewish canon. The design and limits of this article forbid the attempt to present such a résumé.

A few apparently clear conclusions, however, may be deduced. He professes to find both a divine and a human element in the Bible. The *latter*, the larger of the two, furnishes a fair field for the application of the principles of historical criticism. It is not only right, but imperatively necessary, that all parts of the Scriptures wherein this element is controlling, be subjected to precisely the same critical tests and treatment as are applied to literary works in general. Opinions will necessarily vary as to how much can remain of a particular passage or book after Mr. Smith has

[1] *Inspiration of the Scriptures—Its Limits and its Effects.*

actually proceeded to exercise upon it the critical office. Infallibility certainly finds no province *here*.

The *divine* element in the Scriptures is left indefinite as to the scope of its application. Apparently no more is conceded than that it concerns such a 'knowledge of God and of his will as is necessary to salvation.' The author would probably make it inclusive simply of 'God's commands, threatenings and promises addressed to our faith, and above all, of the gospel offer of Christ to us.' The ground of faith in the divine origin and character of the truths contained within the Scriptures is not to be found in any external testimonies to an objective revelation, but simply and solely in the subjective convictions of personal experience wrought within the heart by the power of the Holy Ghost. This being accepted, it is hard to see what functions yet remain to supernatural inspiration.

Better, however, than any attempted analysis of the views of Prof. Smith, may be a few citations from his latest published works. Thus he says:

"The persuasion that in the Bible God himself speaks words of love and life to the soul, is the essence of the Christian's conviction as to the truth and authority of the Scriptures.[1]

"Of this I am sure at the outset, that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can come only from God—that no historical research can deprive me of this conviction, or make less precious the divine utterances that speak straight to the heart.

"For the language of those words is so clear that no re-adjustment of their historical setting can conceivably change the substance of them.

"The supreme truths which speak to every believing heart, the way of salvation, which is the same in all ages, the clear voice of God's love, so tender and personal and simple that a child can understand it—these are things which must abide with us, and prove themselves mighty from age to age, apart from all scientific study.[2]

"The inspired writers were so led by the Spirit that they perfectly understood and perfectly recorded every word which God spoke to their hearts.[3]

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1 *Old Testament, etc.*, p. 4.

2 Id., p. 28.

3 Id., p. 9.

"The Bible is a book of experimental religion, in which the converse of God with his people is depicted in all its stages, up to the full and abiding manifestation of saving love in the person of Jesus Christ. God has no message of love to the believing soul, which the Bible does not set forth." [1]

These utterances, in their detached form, have a certain sound and savor of orthodoxy; but it remains true, nevertheless, that the views of Prof. Smith, as actually applied to the canon, are subversive of all belief in inspiration, at least in the sense commonly understood and accepted by the orthodox consciousness of the church.

The next group of writers is, if possible, still more strongly pronounced in its expression of negative views.

23. *Morell.*

Morell, a disciple of Schleiermacher, and essentially at one with the *advanced* Broad-church school in views upon our subject, distinguishes revelation and inspiration, but regards them as two different sides of one divine act. The former is an exercise of power by which God presents the realities of the spiritual world immediately to the human mind; the latter is that especial influence wrought in the mind of the subject, by which he is enabled to grasp those realities in perfect fulness and integrity. God made a revelation of himself to the world in Jesus Christ, but it was the inspiration of the apostles which enabled them clearly to discern it.[2] The result of the two is to produce in the human mind a state of intuition, whose phenomena are so extraordinary, that we at once separate them from any of the ordinary principles of human development. Yet this agency is applied in perfect consistency with the laws and natural operations of our spiritual nature.

Inspiration does not imply anything generically new in the actual processes of the human mind; it does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess; it indicates rather the elevation of the religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision to a degree of intensity peculiar to the individual thus highly favored by God.[3]

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[1] *Old Testament,* pp. 13–14.
[2] *Philosophy of Religion,* 148; Appleton's Edition.
[3] Id., 148.

Having denied to the sacred writers miraculous powers, verbal dictation or any distinct commission to their work from God,[1] he proceeds to affirm the generic resemblance of biblical inspiration to that of genius. Genius consists in the possession of a remarkable power of intuition with reference to some particular object, a power which arises from the inward nature of a man being brought into unusual harmony with that object in its reality and its operations.[2]

The *difference* of the two kinds of inspiration lies simply in the nature of the objects apprehended, and in the exciting cause of the inward mental elevation to which that apprehension is due.[3]

24. *MacNaught.*

This author carries out the naturalistic theory to its farthest limits. He defines inspiration to be 'that action of the divine Spirit by which, apart from any idea of infallibility, all that is good in man, beast or matter is originated and sustained.'[4] There is to him no distinction whatever between inspiration and genius. He makes no question that David, Solomon, Isaiah, or Paul would have spoken of everything which may with propriety be called a work of genius, or of cleverness, or of holiness, as works of the Spirit of God, written by divine inspiration.[5]

Every thing good in any person or thing is inspired, and the value of any book claiming the quality of inspiration depends upon the amount actually exhibited, and the importance of the truths it teaches. Milton, Shakspeare, Bacon, Canticles, the Apocalypse, the Sermon on the Mount, and the eighth chapter of Romans are all inspired; but which of them is the most valuable, and therefore most truly inspired, is to be determined by consideration of its character, tendency, and beneficial effects as seen in its history.[6] As above indicated, Mr. MacNaught discovers inspiration in rational and irrational creatures, in matter organic and inorganic. He finds it in the instinct of the owl, hears it in

[1] *Philos. of Relig.*, 159.
[2] Id. 173.
[3] Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, I: 176.
[4] *Doctrine of Inspiration*, 196.
[5] Id. 192.
[6] Id. ib.

the rushing of the wind, and sees it in the springing of the blade of grass.

He is able also to argue, to his own mind conclusively, from the lack of infallibility in these acts and phenomena of nature, to a similar want of infallibility in the writings of inspired men.

25. *Newman.*

No further statement will be needful as to Mr. F. W. Newman's views concerning inspiration than to refer to his volume, 'Phases of Faith,' especially chaps. IV. ff. This gentleman has made the discovery that 'a book revelation is a contradiction in terms', that an 'authoritative external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is essentially impossible to man; and that what God reveals to us, he reveals within, through the medium of our moral and spiritual senses.'[1]

It would certainly be a sudden and violent transition, were we to pass from the extreme rationalism of such writers as have last engaged our attention, to a detailed consideration of the reactionary orthodoxy of writers like Haldane, Bannerman and others. We shall content ourselves with a simple reference to their treatises:

Haldane—"*Verbal Inspiration of the Scriptures.*"
Bannerman—"*Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.*"
Elliott—"*Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*" (more moderate).
Given—"*Revelation, Inspiration, and the Canon.*"

VII. Greek and Roman Catholic Churches.

Our historical sketch may properly conclude with a reference to the doctrine of inspiration as held by the modern Greek and Roman Catholic churches. For the views of various Protestant bodies on the subject, it will be sufficient to refer to the denominational literatures, in general, easily accessible.

1. *The Greek Church.*

Questions as to the nature and extent of inspiration are hardly known as subjects of discussion here. All are content with the

[1] *The Soul*, p. 59.

statement that the Holy Spirit is the author and communicator of Scripture, and that the prophets and apostles are the media through which that communication is made to men.[1]

2. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

The Catholic doctrine of inspiration has been recently set forth by Archbishop Gibbons,[2] and his statements may be accepted as sufficiently authoritative.

The Vatican Council declared: "The books of the Old and New Testaments are to be received as sacred and canonical, * * * because, having been written by inspiration of God, they have God for their author, and have been handed down to the Church herself as such."

Catholic theologians in answer to the question 'What is inspiration?'[3] would define it as 'a supernatural help whereby God, at various times down to the end of the apostolic age, enlightened the minds of certain men that they might know the truths which he wished to deliver in writing to his church, and moved their will to write them and nothing else.'

As the Bible is not written to teach science, the sacred writers use the language of their time. We must not look in the Bible for what passes for scientific accuracy in the nineteenth century. Still Catholics hold that, rightly interpreted, the Bible is not only infallible in what concerns faith and morals, but that, moreover, it contains no historical misstatement or error about physical facts.[4]

K. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE WHOLE SURVEY.

If now we ask what general conclusions may be safely and legitimately drawn from that *limited province* of the historical doctrine of inspiration which we have surveyed, it may be replied:

I. Inspiration, in the sense of a communication of the divine will to men through chosen messengers, has been matter of

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[1] *Bib. Sac.*, Oct., 1864, p. 821.

[2] *North American Review*, 1878, pp. 324 ff.

[3] Id., p. 326.

[4] Id., p. 327.

general belief among heathen and Christians, Jews and Gentiles, in every age. It readily responds to the triple test of Catholicity, viz., acceptance "semper, ubique, ab omnibus."

II. *Theories* as to the nature and extent of biblical inspiration should be always, and in great measure have actually been, broadly distinguished from the *fact* itself. Unanimity with reference to the latter is the more abundantly proved by the comparative absence of dogmatic speculations upon the former, during the first fifteen centuries of the history of the church.

III. Abandoning the common, but really useless attempt at a rigid classification of the various theories of inspiration, we may yet say with confidence that no single one has ever commanded sufficiently general assent to entitle it to rank (as party zealots would have it) as 'the immemorial doctrine of the church of God.'

IV. History furnishes conclusive evidence that no doctrine of inspiration can hope for general acceptance in the church, which fails to accord full recognition to the co-existence, co-activity and harmonious relation of the two factors—divine and human—in the same.

All efforts wholly to displace, or unduly to exalt the one or the other, will be met by a more or less prompt, and certainly a strong reaction against the sole supremacy of this, and a like re-assertion of the factor which is denied or undervalued. The doctrine in its historical development has given evidence of a kind of self-corrective power, which, in the long run at least, is sure to make its presence and efficient operation manifest.

V. If the truth of the foregoing statement be conceded, it is plain that the doctrine of inspiration, properly so called, can have nothing to fear from the attacks of modern biblical criticism, be they those of avowed rationalism, of pseudo-evangelicalism (whose loud professions of allegiance to confessional standards scarcely suffice to conceal its really *negative* spirit and intent), or of reactionary orthodoxy and bigotry.

The trend of opinion at the present day is, as seen above, toward a fuller recognition of the human element in the Scriptures; and bold assertions are made of errors manifold in fact, and even in doctrine (which in a historic revelation like the Bible arises out of fact), but it is to be remembered on the other hand:

1. That scepticism in every age, thus far, has found, as concern-

ing attacks upon the Scriptures, that assertion was one thing, but proof and carrying of general conviction quite another.

2. That its assaults have uniformly resulted in establishing the truth denied, upon a more solid basis than before, and, by clearing it from misapprehension and ambiguity, in securing for it more complete and symmetrical development than would otherwise have been possible.

If the outcome of present controversies should prove different, it would indeed be 'a new thing under the sun.'

It is matter of fact that to-day, as the result of the very criticism which is viewed in so many quarters with alarm, and pending the solution of many difficult and disputed questions, the general fabric of the Scriptures, 'apart from the question of its inspiration, stands on a firmer footing than it did a century ago.' This, by the unwilling confession of rationalism itself.

Surely then, simple-hearted faith in the divine oracles may well rest quietly, thank God for that 'whereto it has already attained,' and take courage for the future.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS ON THE SUBJECT OF INSPIRATION:

Curtis, *Human Element in the Inspiration of the Scriptures.* Appletons, 1867.
Lewis, *Divine-Human in the Scriptures.* Carter & Bros., 1860.
Jamieson, *Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.* Edinburgh, W. Blackwood & Sons, 1873.
Lord, *Inspiration not Guidance or Intuition.* Randolph, 1858.
Wordsworth, *Inspiration of Holy Scriptures.* London, Rivingtons, 1851.
Lee, *Inspiration of the Scriptures—Nature and Proof.* Carters, 1857.

See also:

Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospel, pp.* 1–42. MacMillan.
Hodge, *Systematic Theology, I:* 151–82.

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ARTICLE I.

INSPIRATION.

[Delivered before The American Institute of Christian Philosophy, July 17, 1882.]

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WE have defined the specific idea of biblical revelation as being that of a divine self-communication in an historic process of redemption. This process, primarily considered, is historic and objective, and consists in placing within the world of history those factors which are fitted to make God known as the Redeemer of mankind. But this objective and historic process demands, as its complement and means of realizing itself, a corresponding spiritual and subjective process. For revelation is not actualized or completed until man, the subject of revelation, is reached. It implies not simply an object and an agent of revelation, but also a subject to whom, and within whom, it takes place. In other words, there must be an actual making of God known as the Redeemer within human consciousness, in order that this revelation may be accomplished. Human consciousness must, then, be ethically and spiritually quickened as a subjective process corresponding to the more purely objective and historic process of revelation. As we have

before said: "Objective revelation does not attain its own final purpose, unless it realize itself in a subjective and spiritual process. There can be no revelation as a process of history without an inspired community to receive, foster, test, and appreciate it." It is to this subjective and spiritual process which goes on in the inspired community that we now direct our attention.

The only tenable conception of inspiration is that which makes it a personal transaction, as to the nature and result of which we have clear light only by viewing the two personalities involved in the transaction. These personalities are, of course, always two spirits, the Infinite and Eternal Divine Spirit, and the spirit of man made in the image of God and made for receiving the spiritual self-communications of God. We must, then, approach the idea of inspiration by considering the idea of the agent of all inspiration, which is that of a personal, spiritual, and divine principle known as the Holy Spirit. And that idea of this Holy Spirit which gives us the true idea of inspiration is the biblical rather than any theological or speculative idea. To a brief presentation of the biblical idea the following three remarks are fitly preliminary:

1. There must be some special reason, either doctrinal or historical, or both, why the work of inspiration is in the Bible referred to the רוּחַ or πνεῦμα, *Spirit* of God, rather than simply to God, or the Logos, or νοῦς, *Reason* of God. The two conceptions of Logos and Spirit, as media of divine communications, personifications of divine rational and spiritual powers, and, finally, personal divine energies, develop together through the entire course of biblical revelation. At times they seem to converge and even unite in the same conception; as, for example, when we are told in *Psalm*, xxxiii, 6, that the heavens were made by *the word* of the Lord and by *the spirit* of his mouth. The wonderful effect which the biblical conception has wrought upon the meaning of the Greek word πνεῦμα, *spirit*, its frequent use in the biblical books, and the comparative neglect of that word νοῦς, *reason*, which the classic Greek so fitly glorified, are among the most remarkable phenomena in biblical linguistics. The classic Greek would scarcely have known what to make of the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the spirit of God;* while the

phrase ὁ νοῦς τοῦ Θεοῦ, *the reason of God*, would scarcely conform to the biblical conception or usage.

Without attempting to explicate the more exact meanings which are concealed in such a use of terms, we need only remark this: The fundamental conception of a divine spirit is that of a personal and self-communicating energy; God, regarded and known as revealing and communicating himself in history, as Spirit. The conception is peculiarly biblical. Not even Plato seemed able to conceive of a divine spiritual energy as giving force and law and goal to the history of the world. The conception itself implies such insight into the supernatural presence and force of sacred history as can come only through revelation and inspiration. The idea of a Holy Spirit, as presented in the Bible, brings God before us in the form of a personal energy who penetrates and moulds the entire historic process of redemption. The corresponding subjective process is then fitly called inspiration, and referred to the same personal and spiritual energy.

2. The two characteristics of sensuousness and manifoldness belong to the biblical conception of a Holy Spirit. What I have ventured to call the characteristic of sensuousness belongs preëminently to the Old Testament representations. By this characteristic the spiritual energy of Jehovah is brought into definite relations with the concrete existences and concrete facts of history. It is especially opposed to that cold deistic notion of God's being and activities which gives him no place in human passion or human art; and which regards the world as a machine rather than as an organism interpenetrated, filled and moved with divine spiritual life. This conception is, as Ackermann has said, that of some kind of *perpetuum mobile*. It cannot, however, be properly represented under the thin and evanescent terms of much so-called theology. But we agree with the author just quoted in the opinion: "It is more than probable that the Indians in North America, when they pray to the Great Spirit, conceive by this of something more sensible and more alive than many of our preachers and writers of religious books, when they with great pathos style God a Spirit."

It is simple truth of criticism that the conception which corresponds to the biblical word πνεῦμα, *spirit*, like that which

corresponds to the classic Greek word *νοῦς*, *reason*, was developed from the physical and sensuous side. But this fact is not to the detriment, it is rather to the immeasurable benefit of the conception. A free and boundless divine energy enters into the concrete affairs of every-day human life. It moulds nature on man's behalf. It moves upon and dwells within man for his intellectual and moral quickening and purifying. It works all things which require the indwelling presence and power of a supernatural energy.

Hence the second characteristic of the biblical conception of the Holy Spirit, viz. its manifoldness. How, indeed, could this spiritual energy be effective in human history without being manifold? If all the members of the great spiritual organism were moved and moulded alike, where were the body? Artistic skill, wisdom, and mental quickening, prophetic insight and foresight, true sense for the supernatural in nature and history, moral purifying, knowledge of that hitherto hidden mystery which Christ conveys and is;—these are all, according to the biblical conception, fruits of the manifold activity of that one and the same Spirit. It is this manifoldness of the biblical conception of the Divine Spirit, with its range and variety of applications, which enables us to speak of the Bible in general as theopneustic or inspired. We cannot, in faithfulness to historical truth, consider all its portions as covered by this one predicate in the same specific sense which belongs to some of them, or indeed in any one sense. It is, in general, a theopneustic book,—the fruit of this spiritual process which has accompanied the objective and historical process of revelation.

3. Some more limited and specific conception of inspiration is needed, if we are to speak of the relations which exist between Spirit and Bible as in any way special and unique. That which distinguishes the Bible from all other books is, indeed, not solely, nor chiefly, its inspiration in the technical sense which the old orthodoxy invented for the term. Its unique character and peerless value do not depend upon its being, as to inspiration, specifically distinct from all other written expressions of divine truth. They depend rather upon its historical qualities and historical position in the divine self-revelation of redemption. These qualities and this position, however, render its re-

lations to the great historical work of the Divine Spirit special and unique. The spiritual process which has accompanied the process of historical revelation, as its subjective condition and correlate, and which came to its culmination in Christ and in the founding of the Christian Church, has produced the Word of God. This Word of God, scripturally fixed in the biblical writings, is therefore entitled to be called, in a specific meaning of the terms, theopneustic, or inspired. It may be ascribed in a special and unique way to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, because it is the result of a process of revelation and inspiration wrought by this Spirit for the redemption of mankind.

After these preliminary remarks we are the better prepared to consider the nature of inspiration as a transaction in which two spiritual personalities are involved. God is a Spirit; and man is made a spirit in the image of God. Hence the possibility of a communication of the divine life in human moral and religious self-consciousness;—the possibility of revelation and spiritual communion of man with God.

The Bible ascribes manifold activities to God as Spirit. The conception of God as Creator and Lord of life is mediated in a general way, according to the Old Testament, by the conception of his Spirit. The Spirit hovers over the waters at creation, is the source of life and the immanent cause of its continuance in both man and beast. In man this Spirit becomes a spirit of courage in battle, cunning in workmanship, skill in poetry, song, and the interpretation of dreams, wisdom in counsel, rulership, and judgment in a king. More especially is the Spirit of Jehovah represented as the source of an ethically right spirit in man: it is a spirit of holiness. It is the medium through which the prophet receives his communications from God, the vehicle of divine revelation. A certain diffusiveness belongs to its very nature; it is shed abroad, imparted unto, poured out upon, the minds and hearts of men and of communities. This diffusiveness abounds to the advantage of the entire theocratic community; but the joy of Hebrew prediction is in the thought that in coming time the fulness of the gift shall extend to all classes, grades, and members of the religious community, in a more marvellous way.

The same God whom Jesus at one time presents as ὁ ζῶν

πατήρ, *the living Father*, at another he declares to be distinctively *Spirit*, *πνεῦμα*. This declaration has a theological significance which covers all the distinctive features of the New Testament dispensation. As the author of spiritual and eternal life in the believing community, and, through its offices, in the world at large, God is, and becomes known as being, a Spirit preëminently. The Evangelists represent Jesus as begotten by the Spirit, endued with the Spirit, led and sustained in his ministry by the Spirit. From the later advanced point of view, as occupied especially by Paul, Christ himself appears as the life-giving ethical power, and is declared to *be* the Spirit: the indwelling of Christ and of the Spirit is one and the same potency of a new life. The sending of the Spirit by the Risen One and his coming is equivalent to the personal reappearance and presence of Christ himself. The new birth of the Christian believer is effected by this personal and spiritual agency; by it, also, the perfection in all gifts and graces of the life into which the soul is then born. The donative work of the Spirit distributes the several offices and equipments of that spiritual organism which is the Christian Church. For this Church is preëminently the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. In one word, the work of the Divine Spirit is presupposed and implied in every movement for the founding and developing of the Kingdom of Redemption upon earth. Inspiration, in the only true and comprehensive, yet specific, sense of the term, is the result in man's spirit of that activity of the Divine Spirit which accompanies all the historical process of the self-revelation of God as the Redeemer of mankind.

But God is only one of the two personal beings concerned in those spiritual transactions which we call revelation and inspiration. These transactions are *between* persons: they involve the conception of another and finite personality regarded as set over against God. To such transactions the second party must be that kind of free and self-conscious individuality (*Fürsichsein*) which can properly be called personality. Only such a being has capacity for revelation, or for that knowledge of God which the self-revealing Infinite Spirit produces in the finite spirit. Only such a being has the capacity for receiving those ethical and spiritual impressions and changes in which inspira-

tion essentially consists. In the higher use of the word, it is only spirits that can be inspired. The constitution of man, as the subject of revelation and inspiration, must be considered, then, as giving certain necessary conditions to both those historical and spiritual processes of which we have already spoken. For the Word of God is not simply from God to man; it is known to be from God only as it is in man; it has no reality except as it is wrought out in the human mind and in human history. The conditions of this word must, then, come from the constitution of that being within whom, by the activity of the powers belonging to him, it is inspired.

The central and controlling element of such a conception of man as shall make him the fit subject of revelation and inspiration is to be found in the biblical doctrine of man as a spirit. It has been truly said by Cremer that we owe the conception of human spirit, like that of spirit in general, to Sacred Scripture. As in classic Greek it is the *νοῦς*, *reason*, so in biblical language it is the *πνεῦμα*, *spirit*, which makes man to be man. In illustrating the truth of this statement, we need not enter into the mysteries of so-called biblical psychology. We need not attempt to decide upon the true one among the many distinctions which have been made between soul and spirit, heart and spirit, heart and soul. The customary use of רוּחַ or *πνεῦμα*, *spirit*, emphasizes the religious nature and relations of man, as referred to their origin in, and likeness to, the Divine Spirit. The question whether the biblical psychology conceives of the human spirit as belonging to human nature *per se*, has been often raised and variously answered. It has been denied by Holstens, Weiss, and others, that the Pauline anthropology means to ascribe a human spirit as belonging to the very constitution of man. It has been maintained by Hofmann and others, that man's spirit is but the indwelling in man of the Spirit of God. But the biblical view is rather, on the whole, that the spirit which God gave to man at his creation becomes man's own, the centre of his personality as man.

As being, then, in fact and by his very constitution, spirit, biblical revelation regards man as the subject of revelation and inspiration. For the Divine Spirit can communicate itself to the finite spirit in an ethical way. As spirit, man is fitted to live in

a life which reaches through the things of sense and time: he can call God Father, and himself be called, not simply a creature, but also a child, of God. In Christianity, the life which effects changes in the entire nature of man is imparted to, and lodged in, the spirit of man. The New Testament anthropology prepares the way for the doctrine of inspiration: it is theopneustic throughout. The possession by man of a spirit, and the realizing of his destiny by having his spirit possessed by the Divine Spirit, gives to the communion of God with man, both its psychological ground and its actual existence. Even the difference of relations between man and God which is shown by the teachings of the Old Testament and those of the New, has been summarized by Zezschwitz in the contrast between the two Greek words *πνευματαφόρος* and *πνευματικός*: in the Old Testament, the nation as a whole, and especially in the person of certain selected members of the theocratic community, is made the *bearer*, or recipient, *of spiritual influences*, while in the New Testament the Spirit so dwells in the individual member of the religious community as to become *united*, as it were, *with his spirit*, and so man becomes *spiritual*. It is, then, as himself a spirit that man can so receive the Divine Spirit as to be inspired. In other words, the possession and exercise of a spiritual constitution is a necessary condition of inspiration.

As the steadfast law, or limiting condition, of inspiration, we may, then, announce the following: Since the contents of revelation must become the contents of human consciousness, the laws of the human consciousness furnish the necessary conditions of inspiration. We cannot, indeed, deduce the contents of revelation from the evolution, or necessary working, of the human consciousness. This would be to make revelation nothing more than the natural working of the human faculties; and this would be to deny the reality both of revelation and inspiration. But, on the other hand, there can be no revelation accomplished which is not within a mind; and whatever is revealed to mind must be known in accordance with the laws of human consciousness. We may argue this conclusion from the general analogy of the divine operations: In the revelation of his truth, and in his inspiration of his prophet, God will respect the constitution of the mind and heart which He has himself bestowed. We have

previously seen that God does not turn back, or break up, nature in order to work a miracle in the midst of her natural activities. He will not overthrow the fabric of human nature when He supernaturally produces effects in the midst thereof.

But if the theological point of view enables us to affirm the probability, the psychological enables us to assert the necessity, that the laws of human consciousness shall be considered as furnishing the limits and conditions of inspiration. It is not the work of inspiration to depress, but rather to elevate, the faculties of man: not to kill but to make alive does the Spirit of God enter the spirit of man. It is, therefore, one of the characteristic differences between biblical revelation and the theophanies of heathenism, that the former results in placing within the thought of the race certain contents of truth, which are more and more clearly defined in the moral and religious consciousness of men. And it is characteristic of biblical inspiration that it does not obscure and confuse, or abolish, human self-consciousness, as does the inspiration of the heathen mantic.

It is true of all the objective elements which together make up revelation, objectively considered, that they can become elements of *revelation* only so fast and so far as they furnish content to the human consciousness. We cannot, then, with strict accuracy follow the language of Rothe (in his *Zur Dogmatik*), and speak as though revelation could be independent of its being recognized as revelation. There is no single act of revelation consummated which is not consummated within some thinking spirit. And this consummation of revelation within a thinking spirit involves a subjective process which is inspiration, or the divine act in quickening, illumining, elevating and purifying, the powers of that spirit. But, this is only to say, in another form, that the laws of human consciousness furnish the necessary conditions for revelation and inspiration. The miracle is a revelation of God only as it is apprehended and interpreted by an ethical and religious consciousness thus inspired. Sacred history is effective as revelation only when its moral and religious content is discerned by some mind with clear and penetrating insight. The word of God, however it may present itself for recognition, must be translated into intuitions and thoughts, or be recognized as the cause of feeling and impulse, within the human

soul. Even the personality of Christ remains fleshly and external unless made known in and through a process of personal inspiration in the personality of the believer. This is the difference of which the Apostle speaks between knowing Christ after the flesh and knowing him after the spirit.

This law extends to all the various faculties which are inspired in the process of the divine self-revealing. Senses, intellect, sensibilities, ethical and religious powers, can be operated upon only in accordance with their fundamental laws. If they are incited to activity at all, the nature of their activity must be conditioned upon the constitution and place of each in the human system of faculties. If the senses act in revelation and inspiration, they will act as *senses;* they will act, that is, as means of becoming aware, primarily, only of certain changes in the so-called forms of matter, and as conditioned upon the fundamental fact that the organs of sense are themselves only a special kind of matter, called nervous matter. To have a vision of God or of angels, as an effect in the nervous system, would be to see some form of so-called matter from which the divine or the angelic presence might be inferred. To hear the divine voice, in a literal sense, could never be anything more than to interpret a certain affection of the nervous organism as originating in a divine act of causation. Memory of revelation, or inspired memory, is always memory. An inspired argument, or inference, can never transcend the fundamental laws of the logical faculty.

Especial emphasis must be laid upon the truth that the ethical nature of man furnishes certain necessary conditions of revelation and inspiration, under the general law,—the contents of revelation must become the contents of self-consciousness. The contents of revelation are preëminently ethico-religious truths: they are addressed and fitted to the nature of man as an ethical and religious being. But with this truth goes another and kindred truth: these contents are wrought out within the ethical and religious self-consciousness. The truths of biblical revelation are not, indeed, the merely natural product of these faculties; otherwise, they would not be truths of revelation. But, on the other hand, they are truths divinely lodged in, or wrought out within, the normal faculties of man's ethical and religious being.

Or, to use terms of the Bible itself, they are fruits of the Divine Spirit in the spirit of man. Ethical ideas and impulses, when inspired, are still distinctively *ethical* ideas and impulses. So far, then, as we can have any psychology of inspiration, it must be a sound human psychology. The inspired *organs* of revelation are never more nor less, in their fundamental capacities, than we all are. But there being *inspired* organs of revelation involves a dynamical influence from the Divine Spirit in quickening, illumining, elevating, and purifying, the normal spiritual powers.

It follows from what has just been said that revelation and inspiration take place in man as a spiritual unity endowed with a multiplicity of correlated powers. The unity of human nature is a postulate of the biblical way of regarding man ; it is also a firmly established conclusion of modern physiological and metaphysical psychology. In the realizing of divine revelation as a subjective process, the faculties of man must act in unity. In inspiration, these faculties must be affected as a living unity; and the object of knowledge in revelation will contain elements, so to speak, which are mingled in it from all the activities of the soul. Inspired prophetic vision cannot be considered as purely a matter of the senses without the intellect, memory, and will; or of any of the latter without the coöperation of the inner organs of sense. Even ecstasy does not remove from its subject the necessity of using the powers of reflection, in order to make clear to himself the limits and meaning of the intuitions presented before the mind in its ecstatic state. How close is this psychological unity, and how subtle and manifold are all the relations which bind together the various faculties of both body and soul, He knows best who best knows man.

This unity, in accordance with whose conditions inspiration takes place, does not, however, exclude a multiplicity and wide range of powers. Of all these powers the centre and hearth is the ethical personality, that spiritual nature by the possession of which man is like God, and communes with God. The inspiration of conscience, and of the faculties employed in religious intuition, is necessary, in order that the contents of revelation may become the contents of human consciousness. The inspiration of *these* faculties is the controlling fact in the general impression upon the faculties made by the inspired state.

We may, then, still further conclude, that the various faculties of man are inspired according to the laws which belong to them, in the service of ethical personality, and for the attainment of ethico-religious ends. This principle might be illustrated, did time permit, by a complete discussion under three divisions, viz., Powers of Presentation, Powers of Representation and Reflection, Powers of Moral Discrimination and Choice. A few words under each one of these heads must, however, suffice.

1. The Presentations of revelation may take place, either in connection with some special activity of the senses, which the subject of the activity ascribes to a special cause, or in the form of an inward and more purely mental intuition of truth. In some form, the primitive factor of revelation is an intuition: it is the presentation before the mind of some object the presence of which is ascribed to God as a cause. That the brain and nervous system of man, his external and his inner organs of sense, are susceptible of being used by the Divine Spirit as the instrument of revelation, their use by the indwelling finite spirit may suggest. Inspired dreams, visions, and prophetic ecstasy, are not, then, contrary to the constitution of man: they may rather be considered as analogous to the relations which exist between the organism of the mind and both the mind and the outside reality. The phenomena of inhibition and innervation upon the central organs of sense plainly enough show that, not only can the physical stimuli affect these organs from without, but also the indwelling spirit from within. We are unable, indeed, in the case of such phenomena to distinguish, by means of the phenomena themselves, what must be considered purely natural from what may be, in part, referred to a supernatural agency. The ultimate test must lie in the nature of the truth which is thus alleged to be revealed. But, on the other hand, to deny that such physical and mental experiences can be inspired, is to go in the face of the plainest facts of daily experience. The same general principle governs those presentations of revelation which we characterize as the more inward and purely mental intuition of truth. In general, we cannot deny the truthfulness of Pfleiderer's declaration: "There arises not a single intuition or image or cognition in us, as the ready-made product of an external cause; but what comes to us from without is only

impressions, modes of our excitation, which are first wrought up into definite intuitions, images, etc., by the activity of our spirit in conformity with its laws." In the case of all the ordinary impressions of sense, the object which the mind perceives is not produced by the combination of merely physical elements. It is made up by the mind in accordance with the laws of its own activity, but as conditioned upon the way in which the mind is excited by the activity of the bodily organs. In the case, then, of the so-called prophetic vision, the presentation of the senses can be regarded only as means to an end. The senses of the prophets are touched *in order that* some inner intuition of moral and religious truth may take place. But even in the case where the intuition does not appear as connected with some marked excitement of the bodily organs, it cannot be regarded as something manufactured outside of the mind, and then imported into it, as it were, from without. The intuition can arise only by the activity of the mind's self, in accordance with its own laws. As an intuition, then, it brings with it its own verification. The inspired soul becomes conscious of itself as impressed with a certain form of an inner intuition; and, as a mental fact, this intuition brings with itself its own guaranty. But every intuition may be accompanied by a conviction as to its own cause. The intuitions of revelation are by their subject ascribed intuitively to the Divine Spirit as their cause. They are not known as the mere result of the normal working of the human faculties; but they are accompanied by the conviction that God is their cause. The Divine Spirit has wrought within my spirit so that I see, with a clear inner intuition, his truth—such is the persuasion of the inspired soul.

2. But the faculties of Representation and Reflection are also involved in the spiritual transactions which we call revelation and inspiration. Without memory, imagination, and reasoning, revelation cannot take place. The inspiration which is the subjective condition of revelation operates within these faculties also. That imagination, as the creative faculty in man, is unusually active and elevated under inspiration, accords with all the phenomena and the universal belief of the wisest minds. It may be regarded as that formative energy which combines and brings before the soul the elements of every form of intuition. The

language of revelation is to a large extent the expression of a kindled imagination: the tendency of inspired souls is to speak in glowing and figurative terms. By its rapid and wonderful working, the inspired imagination combines the elements of new intuitions and old memories into higher forms, which in their turn present themselves before the mind as intuitions to be ascribed to the gift of God. That memory is employed, with due observance of its fundamental laws, by the Spirit of revelation and inspiration, belongs to the historical nature of revelation itself. Only what is remembered of the original intuitions of revelation can become of value to the future. The unremembered portion is for the purposes of history a lost portion. In the self-conscious effort to form a record of revelation, memory is, of course, a faculty whose due activity is indispensable. But furthermore, the organic and gradual nature of revelation cannot be preserved without the activity of memory. There seems, then, a special reason why the promise which our Lord made to his disciples should dwell upon the significant fact, that the office of the Spirit should be to bring to their remembrance the truth of Christ. We cannot say, on *a priori* grounds, that the merely natural memory would be insufficient for the final purpose of revelation; but we can say that the constitution of man is such as to involve an inspiration of memory, if there is to be any inspiration that shall penetrate and control its varied powers. Furthermore, nothing but that abstract and misleading view of the nature of man's faculty of reasoning which has so largely prevailed from the days of Aristotle to the present time, could lead to the claim of Morell and others—this faculty cannot become the instrument of revelation, because the logical processes never expand the horizon of our mental vision. That which is revealed is truth; but it is not truth as made over to man in definite propositions fit for syllogistic defence and handling. Inspiration neither makes nor changes the logical laws of non-contradiction and excluded middle. One does not need special revelation to affirm that A is not non-A; nor does it take a seer to discover that the conclusion follows from the premises when the middle term is properly distributed. But, in this real life of inference and opinion regarding moral and religious verity, men do not deal with counters, and letters, and abstract terms, such

as may be readily brought under the *dictum de omni et nullo.* In morals and religion, as in all other cases of interest to conduct, we do not get the terms of our syllogisms thus clearly stated for us. We rather find them as mingled with many guesses and opinions; we are glad enough, forsooth! to get suggestions which will lead us near to one of the higher forms of probability. And to affirm that God cannot so move upon the mind of man as to lead him, along the normal lines of his own intellectual activity, from a principle to its true application, from a general law to a particular case made known as coming under the law, is to affirm that God cannot do for man what men daily do for one another. But the purely deductive process does not exhaust the capacity of the human intellect. For man's reasoning is never purely deductive. Induction blends with deduction in a process, which defines the truth with the more accuracy, the more perfectly both of its elements are blended in it. But suggestion, the flash of truth inward upon the mind, when a great principle is first seen as it stands illustrated in one application of it, is the essence of induction. Therefore induction affords us one of the happiest and most nearly complete analogies between the activity of the mental powers of genius and the activity of inspiration.

3. In inspiration the Moral and Free Activity of man is penetrated and filled with the moral and free activity of God. If we use the term conscience, in its strictest meaning, and as denoting the faculty of cognition when occupied with ethical ideas and judgments, we must find in it the special organ and seat of the divine activity in revelation. But if we include also under this term those original feelings and impulses which we call ethical, we have in them the special organ and seat of inspiration. Man's moral freedom before the moral personality of God is the door by which the Divine Spirit wills to enter the human spirit. Man becomes recipient of the divine self-revelation by the highest exercise of his own activity. That God should be so in man, when revealing himself to man, as that man shall be most free in yielding himself most fully to God, is only the highest form of the mystery of human freedom. Man is not, then, best made subject of inspiration by stripping him of his selfhood and laying him passive under the divine hand.

His passivity in inspiration is the passivity of receptivity, the activity which belongs to the self-submission of faith. Just as the *quasi*-ethical receptivity of the investigator of the truth of physics is an activity, and a condition of the most fruitful activity, so the spiritual receptivity of faith is an inspired activity, and a condition of receiving truth through revelation and inspiration. Fidelity, truth in the inward parts, is also an ethical act or state which is the requisite of revelation, and may be the result of inspiration.

From the foregoing statement we derive as our next principle, the following: In all individual instances of revelation and inspiration, the individuality of the subject of revelation and inspiration must be taken into the account. In biblical revelation the circumstances, connections, and individual characteristics of each prophet and apostle furnish grounds for various types, degrees, and grades of inspiration. The class characteristics of the Hebrew mind furnish certain conditions to the nature of the inspiration of the Old Testament. The revelation of the Old Testament is not less truly Hebraic because it is really revelation and has elements which expand into the universality of Christianity. The inspiration of the Hebrew prophet did not eradicate his race characteristics. "Arabic life," says Renan following Lassen, "is a succession of hates and vengeances." It is to this same Semitic intensity that we owe the characteristics of the inspired hatred of unrighteousness and the inspired passion of devotion to Jehovah, which flame and breathe through so many of the Hebrew writings. To the same cause do we also owe some of the characteristic imperfections and exaggerations to be met with in these writings. That "superior instinct" and "special sense" for religion which Renan ascribes to the Semitic peoples is by no means unconnected with the inspiration which gave to the world the Hebrew monotheism. The natural race characteristics do not account for the monotheism, but they are the explanation of the special form taken by the inspiration which brought this monotheism forth. That this law was not set aside by the revelation of Christianity, all the phenomena of the New Testament most clearly evince. But the mental constitution of its teachers and writers unites with the changed character of the revelation to make the New

Testament the bearer of universal religious truth to mankind. The same spiritual life prepared the organs of the New Testament revelation which through them brought its eternal truths to man. But the geniality of each mind, considered as receptive of the new and universal ideas, bears some pretty definite proportion to the amount of such ideas sent into the world by each mind. To these complex relations of the individual to his place and work in the one great scheme of divine self-revelation do we owe in part the differences in type which belong to the different views of the person of Christ and to the different presentations of the one great Christian system of truths. Under the same principle must we also bring those minute differences which concern the individual shadings and turns of thought and the minuter differences of language—the style in the widest extent of the term—which are shown in the oral or written expressions of inspired minds.

In general, we conclude, then, that the finite spirit, the second personality in this personal transaction of revelation and inspiration, furnishes the conditions which determine the mode in which the Divine Spirit shall carry out within the human consciousness, and within human history, the ends of God's self-communication for the redemption of mankind.

The inspiration which gives to the biblical writings their specific claim to the title "inspired" may now be considered in its relations to biblical revelation. With the inspiration of the Bible, in the meaning of the term which obtained without dispute in Protestant theology from the close of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries, we might properly give ourselves no concern. It has to be considered rather as a matter of historical interest than of dogmatic validity. With this so-called "old orthodoxy," *revelatio*, was the supernatural and immediate making known, to the writers of the Bible, of things before unknown. *Inspiratio* was the supernatural and immediate infusion of things, both known and unknown, into the minds of the authors of Sacred Scripture, in their act of constructing the biblical books. Revelation in this sense appertained, indeed, only to the writers of Sacred Scripture, but it might take place either before, or at the time of, their writing. Inspiration, in the specific sense, never took place except in connection with the com-

position of Sacred Scripture. It was always and specifically *ad scribendum* and *in scribendo.* It was to be conceived of as either a verbal dictation or a suggestion of words, which renders the writers as the passive organs, the pens, the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. It covered and guaranteed all the contents, of every kind and in every detail, of the biblical books. This view really destroys the vitality and vital organic relation of revelation and inspiration. It withdraws from consideration the nature of the human personality; for it considers this personality only as the most convenient kind of instrumentality, a writing-machine of God.

On the other hand, the nature of inspiration, and its relation to revelation, may be totally misconceived when seen from an opposite point of view. The agent, the subject, and the final purpose of revelation are the considerations which enable us to fix, so far as is possible, the nature of inspiration. Without inspiration, revelation cannot complete itself, cannot become a divine self-communication actually realized. For inspiration is the subjective condition of revelation. The truth is very nearly expressed by this declaration of Dorner: "Revelation, becoming imparted to the spirit (of man) is, so far as its form is concerned, inspiration." But, inasmuch as we use the word revelation in two principal meanings, as objective and as subjective, it becomes difficult to distinguish inspiration from the latter use of the word revelation. To the mind of the recipient, that alone is a revelation which has already become known; and the divine activity in making that which is divine known to man is an act of divine self-revelation. But since this divine act takes place within the mind of man, and is conditioned upon the laws of the mind, the form in which it takes place is a spiritual activity produced by God: the act, that is to say, is, as to its form, inspiration. Can we, then, distinguish between revelation, in its subjective meaning and aspect, and inspiration which is, according to the statement made above, the subjective condition of revelation? We may thus distinguish only if we remember that the distinction is largely one of emphasis and formal expression. We may distinguish in the following three particulars: *a.* The word revelation, even in its subjective use, lays emphasis upon knowledge rather than upon the feelings and

practical activities of religion. Revelation is, then, a divine work which is regarded as taking place in the faculties of knowledge, and as resulting in the making known of truth to its recipient. Inspiration relates to all the faculties of man, and emphasizes especially the ethical faculties of faith and self-surrender. But, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit is the personal principle of all truth, and especially of all truth concerning God as the Redeemer and concerning his work in the Kingdom of Redemption, to have this Spirit is to be inspired with insight into the truth. *b.* The word revelation lays emphasis upon a product rather than upon a process considered as a kind of recipiency, or activity, of the human mind. The process of revelation issues in something made known. But the process of inspiration is not spoken of as leaving a concrete objective product, which may itself be called an inspiration. The word inspiration lays the emphasis upon the manner in which the human faculties operate. But, as soon as we introduce the idea of the final purpose of inspiration, we are apt to be brought around again to the idea of revelation. "Inspiration according to the biblical conceptions," says Ackermann, "is to be thought of as a vivifying and animating influence upon the spiritual nature of man, by which its activity and susceptibility are extraordinarily elevated, so that what otherwise would lie outside of its circle of vision, and be dark and concealed, appears clear to the inner power of perception, as though made its subject and content." *c.* Once more, revelation lays emphasis upon the permanent and organic factors in the spiritual process. Inspiration, regarded merely as a certain state or activity of the human faculties under divine spiritual influence, does not necessarily produce an abiding word of God. In the more general sense of the term inspiration—a sense, however, perfectly well authorized by abundant biblical usage—every human spirit is inspired whenever it enters into any communion with the Spirit of God. The human spirit cannot go out of itself in order to commune with the Divine Spirit. It carries within itself neither the independent impulse nor the independent power to exercise such communion. There can be such spiritual communion only when the Divine Spirit moves upon the human spirit so as to reveal within it the divine presence. For this reason, inspiration is a

constant experience of the community of believers in their communion with God. It is, however, the divine communication of the permanent truths of the Kingdom of Redemption, in an organic way, to the writers of the Bible, which gives to these writers their unique place in the offices of this Kingdom. In other words, when we wish to characterize the permanent and organic factors in the Bible, we refer them to the work of the Spirit of revelation within the personality of its authors.

Revelation and inspiration, as the subjective condition of revelation, are factors of the Word of God. The specific nature of that inspiration which is the subjective condition of biblical revelation, and which is, therefore, the predicate of the entire true Word of God, may be further defined, in conclusion, by the following statement of particulars. The proofs of this statement lie only partially in the views of the supernatural, of revelation, and of inspiration in general, which have preceded it. They also largely consist in the results of an extended inductive examination of all the claims, and of all the principal classes of the phenomena, of the Bible. The proofs, then, so far as they have not already been introduced cannot be given; and the statement must be given, separated in part from its proofs, and left to prove itself, or to fail of credence, according to the testing of the reader.

1. Inspiration, in the primary and only strictly appropriate meaning of the word, applies to personality. For this reason does Dorner justly complain of the older theory of supernaturalism, because it violently sundered the divine activity in the composition of the Scriptures from inspiration in its original meaning, according to which not books, but men, are inspired. Inspiration involves the coöperation of two spiritual and personal agencies, of an imparting and inspiring Divine Spirit, and a recipient yet active human spirit. Books and writings can no more than stocks and stones be of themselves inspired. The predicate of inspiration can, then, be applied to the immediate product of inspired personal activity, to the Divine Word, only in a secondary and derived meaning. Of an inspiration which can be thought of as detached from personality, or regarded as *ad scribendum* or *in scribendo*, neither the claims of the Bible, nor any tenable dogmatics, give us any account.

2. Inspiration is preëminently an ethical affair. This we must affirm, whether we consider chiefly its product in revelation, its final purpose in the Kingdom of Redemption, the pre-conditions in its recipient which limit its existence and completeness, or the nature and activity of the faculties which are most influentially affected by it.

3. Inspiration is dynamical, and therefore involves the illumining, purifying, and quickening, by the Divine Spirit, of all those mental faculties of man which enter into the work of revelation. The general conception of inspiration is that of a divine influence, coming like breath or wind, or some other fluid, into the soul of man, and producing there a transforming effect. God's Spirit is regarded as operating within man's spirit, to awaken, quicken, enliven, elevate, illumine, and instruct, the faculties. The man is therefore to be spoken of as moved, or breathed upon, or taught, or made wise, by God. Its phenomena do not comprise anything within the mind which is foreign to the mind's own powers: they consist solely in the unusual form or energy of the activity of normal mental powers. Inspiration is, then, to be conceived of as dynamical rather than as constructive, mechanical, or merely regulative. What might be called a regulative divine influence does indeed enter into that complex mental condition which we call inspiration; but, as distinguished from the dynamical, the regulative is only the providential activity of the Holy Spirit. To Providence we are to ascribe much of that specific divine influence which the older theology made an integral part of inspiration under the term *impulsus ad scribendum.* But, if the divine activity in inspiration is more and higher than that which is merely regulative, it is less, though not ethically lower, than the mechanical, or constructive. A purely mechanical theory of inspiration is such a self-contradictory and absurd theory that it cannot even be put into terms which will represent it to the human mind. All such theories, however, as unduly emphasize the passivity of the mind under inspiration, and repress its activity according to its own laws, may be called more or less mechanical. They all speak of inspiration *as though* God could treat the human mind like a machine. To such theories expressions which exalt the passivity of the writers of Scripture are favorite—as, for example, " nota-

ries," "secretaries," "pens," "reeds," "lyres," and even "writing-tablets." In all the earlier history of the Christian Church these expressions must generally be understood as figurative, and not as intended to be constructive of dogma; but in the post-Reformation era these expressions are distinctly put forth as having a dogmatic significance. The theory of this era, with the remnants of it which survived in many quarters to the present day, is, then, especially entitled to the title "mechanical." But the mechanical theory makes at least two false and destructive assumptions. It assumes that inspiration consists wholly in being acted upon, in being passive while an impression is produced upon the mind as it were from without. It also assumes that a ready-made product of truth, formally expressed in language, is by divine miraculous action imported into the mind. Nor is inspiration constructive; as it imparts no new faculty, it causes no specifically different activity of any faculty. Memory is still memory: intellect is still intellect. The relations of brain and mind in prophetic ecstasy are the same which are partially familiar to all students of the frequent phenomena of ecstasy in many places and times. But inspiration is dynamical. It involves the illumining, purifying, and quickening of all the mental powers which enter into the work of revelation; because man, as a spiritual unity, is inspired in order that he may receive the self-communication of God.

4. Inspiration involves, then, not only the recipiency of faith, but also the activity of all man's correlated powers. The recipiency of faith is not passivity; on the contrary, it involves the highest kind of ethical activity. The imparting of truth requires not only the activity of the spirit which imparts, but also of the spirit to which the truth is imparted. The relation of God to man in inspiration no more admits of pure passivity in the latter than—to use a figure of speech which Mehring has wrought out at some length—the relation of teacher to pupil.

5. Ecstasy is not the sole, nor even the typical form of biblical inspiration. The view maintained by Hengstenberg, and even the modified view of E. Graf, which make ecstasy the only condition of biblical revelation, quite breaks down. But the truth is rather as H. Schultz states it: "As prose out of poetry, so certainly has the quiet utterance of truth come out of the

disturbed, the clear inspiration of God from the passionate transport." The peculiar phenomena of ecstasy, instead of serving as they once did to authenticate by their peculiarity the inspired condition of the subject of ecstasy, now serve rather to embarrass the proof. For the condition of ecstasy is not confined to the sphere of religious excitement; and, as an excitement, it is not confined to any religion alone. Physiologically considered, it consists in the suspension of the external organs of sense as susceptible to external excitement, and in the greatly increased, and even the diseased, activity of the inner organs of imagination and sense. Psychically considered, it is an intense and concentrated activity of the mind upon some one object of contemplation, which has absorbed the mind in its use of these inner organs of imagination and sense. It is not, then, in itself considered a state of inspiration at all. It is only when the object upon which the contemplation is concentrated is a real object of revelation that ecstasy becomes a state of inspiration.

6. Inspiration varies, according to the personality, circumstances, and position and office in the Kingdom of Redemption, of its subject. That the inspiration of different persons will differ in the degree and mode of its manifestation is a corollary from the general truth which makes it a truly personal affair. There are various grades, degrees, types, and modes of the one spiritual gift. But the Giver is one; and these differences constitute no specific difference in the one great type which embraces them all.

7. Inspiration also varies in the degree and proportionate activity of the faculties involved. We are not, indeed, to speak of this variation as though it could be a basis for classifying the kinds of inspiration; as, for instance, an inspiration of memory, an inspiration of intellect, a verbal inspiration, etc. But it might well happen that certain cases of inspiration will cause us to lay emphasis upon the exalted and quickened condition of some of the faculties; and certain other cases upon the same condition in other of the faculties. In the case of the Fourth Gospel, we have especial emphasis laid upon the inspired insight which was born of long reflection upon matters of personal experience, so dear and impressive as were the words and deeds of Christ to the author of this Gospel. Manifestly not by any sudden seiz-

ure, but by the continued and gentle pressure of the indwelling Holy Spirit, all the contemplative powers of the author have been raised to their divine exaltation and purity. How different, however, the case of the *Apocalypse*, with its constant succession of visions seen in ecstasy, and its relative depression and disuse of all the quieter contemplative powers.

8. Inspiration involves an effect upon the powers of utterance, but is not verbal in the technical sense of the term. The former theory of verbal inspiration cannot stand for a moment against an inductive doctrine of the nature of Sacred Scriptures. Nor can we approve the substitute which Philippi has ventured in the shape of a Word-inspiration which is still not an inspiration of the words. Nor is the more careful statement of Beck sufficiently accurate: "The welding of word with thing, of statement with content, in the one production of the Spirit of revelation, lies in the very nature of the case." And yet the fundamental psychological truth which underlies the theory of Philippi is undoubted in its application to the case. Thought, the content of truth, and inner language as the form of thought, cannot be separated. We cannot conceive of inspiration as not involving the faculties of language. Precisely to what degree, and in what form the supernatural and spiritual inworking may be detected in the language of the inspired, is a matter for devout and fruitful linguistic research.

9. Inspiration is not infallibility. Indeed the older form of the theory of infallibility follows from the same assumptions, made on false grounds of the necessities of faith, which vitiated its conceptions of the nature of inspiration and revelation.

10. In inspiration, the point and kind of union between natural and supernatural, and the *modus operandi*, are concealed and mysterious; but inspiration is not therefore incredible or irrational. That the precise point and kind of union, which takes place between the divine energy and the activities of the human spirit, should remain concealed, is accordant with all the analogies of experience. Precisely how and where physical forces unite, or are correlated and conserved, we do not know. What appears is ever phenomena; and the real forces lie concealed. The *modus operandi* of the causal relation between body and

spirit, between God and the world, is as mysterious surely as that of the relation between finite spirit and Infinite Spirit.

11. In inspiration, the content of the inspired consciousness is primarily ethico-religious. It is an object of revelation which is always primarily ethico-religious.

12. Inspiration, as the subjective condition of biblical revelation and the predicate of the Word of God, is *specifically* the same illumining, quickening, elevating, and purifying work of the Holy Spirit as that which goes on in the persons of the entire believing community. Biblical inspiration as a predicate of the Word of God is specifically that divine spiritual activity within man which is the subjective condition of the biblical revelation. That which distinguishes the authors of Sacred Scripture from the other members of this community is more important, and, historically considered, more fundamental, than a difference in the kind of their mental and moral illumining. It is chiefly their unique position, as determined by the divine plan, with respect to the historical process of the divine self-revelation in redemption. By this position they are divinely constituted the guides and founders of the religious community.

13. But finally, among the various criteria of inspiration, the ones which are preëminent and final are found in its product of revealed truth as tested by the abiding and yet unfolding religious consciousness of the believing community. It is where the Bible and the present witness of the Holy Spirit coincide, where the word objective is met by the word subjective, that the realm of most assured truth is found. For, the ever-living Church of God both builds her faith and life upon the ever-living Word of God, and also discerns, tests, applies, and defends it.

ARTICLE II.

THE RECENT SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIETY.

[Read before The American Institute of Christian Philosophy, January 25th, 1883.]

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THERE always has been a tendency among active minds to speculate upon the principles and the progress both of society and of government. The subject is sufficiently complex, and the field is wide enough, to afford an inexhaustible topic for ingenious speculation; and as the speculator is seldom called upon to construct a society in harmony with his views, he seldom finds any obstacle to his course which boldness and ingenuity cannot surmount.

In our own time, however, this philosophic speculation upon society has assumed a peculiar form, and a grave aspect. It is largely among the scientific minds that it makes its way. They seem to feel themselves emancipated from the common bonds of ignorance, and shielded from censure in their utterance of the wildest opinions for which they can contrive to find shelter under the wing of so-called science. They give free scope, therefore, to the imagination, and present sometimes an imposing front to the world.

It is my purpose, at present, to examine briefly some of the most prominent of these speculations presented in the name of Science, and to ask how far they give us reliable and solid views of the facts of Society.

The first of these great writers whom it is worth our while to criticise, is the late Mr. Buckle, the eminent author of *The His-*